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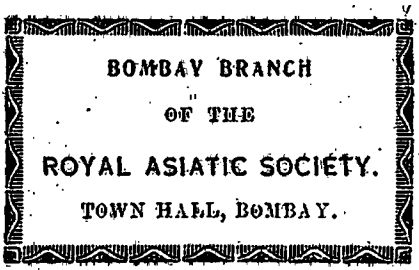

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE THIRD,

KING OF SPAIN.

THE FIRST FOUR BOOKS

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THE TWO LAST

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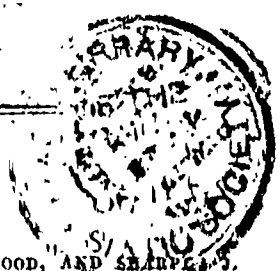

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THE

HISTORY

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BOOK V.

ABOUT the end of the fifteenth century, the several kingdoms of Spain formed one powerful monarchy, containing above twenty millions of inhabitants. It was well cultivated, abounding in flourishing manufactures, and was governed with equal vigour and prudence by the joint authority of Ferdinand and Isabella. These princes, agreeably to the natural progress of ambition, extended their united power, by the superiority of their policy and arms, in Europe, while the inventive and daring genius of Columbus opened to their aspiring views an immense field of conquest by the discovery of a new world. An object so animating, by its novelty, as well as grandeur, nourished those seeds of ambition

1609. Ambition of Spain accounted for.

 which

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which had taken root in the court of Spain, and roused a spirit of enterprise among the people. A succession of bold leaders, followed by numerous adventurers, allured to their standards by the love of change, or the hope of plunder, united to the Spanish empire almost the whole of those vast regions which extend from the Gulf of Mexico to the Streights of Magellan.

THE collected treasures of America, over which the cortes had not any controul, enabled Charles V. to trample on the liberties of his own subjects, and to threaten neighbouring states with universal dominion. The ambition of the emperor descended, together with his immense resources, to his son Philip II. and engaged him in projects beyond his abilities. The monarch was governed by a lust of power, and the people was seized with a spirit of emigration. The energy of the nation was diverted from domestic industry, the true source of national wealth and grandeur, and turned to distant enterprizes of colonization and of war. The monarchy became faint through the loss of its blood and treasure; and the power, on which its vast ambition had been originally founded, was subverted. But ideas of uncontroulable dominion were by this time deeply impressed on the Austrian race,

race; and Philip III. with exhausted resources, and a feeble mind, faintly pursued the same ambitious plan that had been formed or adopted by his predecessors on the Spanish throne, not more formidable for their extensive revenues than for the vigilance, vigour, and perseverance of their nature.

It is so natural for sovereign princes to exert every nerve to reclaim the obedience of revolted subjects, that the continuance of the war in the Netherlands till the late truce, ought not, indeed, to be accounted any proof of extraordinary ambition; and the expulsion of the Morescoes, a people industrious in an indolent climate, seemed an act by which the Spanish crown voluntarily sought its own degradation. The ambitious schemes, however, of the court of Madrid, though better concealed, and apparently suspended, were not wholly abandoned. The aggrandizement of the house of Austria was still the first object in the counsels of Spain. But her power corresponded not with her inclination; and her pursuit of greatness was sullied by those machinations which are the usual resources of impotent ambition, and which mark declining empire.

The peace of Vervins restored the appearance, but did not establish the confidence of friendship between two great and rival king-

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doms. The court of Spain continued to encourage and support the enemies of the crown of France; and the French monarch, in return, encouraged and supported the enemies of Spain. Thus, the ancient antipathies of these neighbouring kingdoms were still kept alive by reciprocal injuries. But, while the intrigues of Philip were dark and treacherous, the hostilities of Henry were ennobled by the occasions on which they were exercised; and the part which sound policy required him to act, was consonant to the natural generosity of his temper. This magnanimous prince, enraged at the repeated injuries he had suffered from the ambition of the Spaniards, apprized of their intrigues and influence with the discontented nobles of France, and alarmed at the dangers which threatened both his life and his crown, conceived a project of uniting different powers in a league against the encroachments of a nation which seemed still to aim at universal monarchy. His ultimate design, in the formation of such a confederacy, was, to establish among the nations of Europe a new system, and to fix a durable balance of power, by the exaltation of other states on the ruins of the house of Austria *.

Jealousies continue between the courts of France and Spain.

Great plan of Henry IV.

AT

* See Sully's Memoirs.—The scheme, which has been ascribed to Henry, of uniting all Christendom in one great republic,

At this time religion was the most powerful band of union among men; and, consequently, religious sympathies and antipathies were the great engines that governed the world. The

republic, for the promotion of general happiness, and the establishment of general tranquillity, has afforded matter of great speculation and conjecture. Although it is impossible to penetrate into the recesses of the minds of princes, and that history is more successfully employed in tracing the consequences than in exploring the springs of events and actions; yet, in every design of so great a man as Henry IV. we are deeply interested, and it is with difficulty that we can refrain from indulging conjectures concerning whatever appears mysterious or doubtful in his conduct.

The project of uniting the Christian powers into one general republic, as it was not unworthy, so neither was it too great for the mind of Henry. It was the perfection and just completion of his plan. Nor is it improbable, that at certain times, he amused his fancy with the contemplation of so grand an object. But, on the other hand, it is almost certain that it was not the contemplation of this great end that first suggested the idea of the confederacy, or first roused him to action. A more natural or probable account of his original motives, in his intended enterprize, there cannot be given than what we have in Sully's Memoirs. "Henry IV. recollecting the intrigues of Spain, said, I see these people will never let me alone while it is in their power to disturb me. And that the different jealousies of honour, of reputation, and of the interests of state, render all confidence and harmony between France and Spain impossible. Other foundations of security must be sought for than in words. They will constrain me to do what I never intended. But I Swear by God, that if I had once put my affairs in order, and raised money and all necessary supplies, I will make them repent that they have roused me to arms." Vol. iii. p. 33. duodecimo, Paris, 1663.

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Austrians gloried in patronizing the church of Rome. Henry, from the most urgent motives of policy, had changed the profession of his faith, and embraced the Catholic religion, but still possessed and deserved the confidence of the Protestants. The French monarch, of course, in a contest with the house of Austria, could depend on the good wishes of all, as he was assured of assistance from most of the princes and states of the reformed religion. With England he entered into a league for the mutual defence of that kingdom and of France. The United Provinces of the Low Countries, the Protestant princes of Germany, the greater part of the imperial towns, were ready to take an active part in his intended enterprize. And Denmark and Sweden, although, from their remote situations they were not so nearly interested in his designs, if they should be involved in the flames of a general war, it was easy to foresee, would espouse the cause of their Protestant brethren.

But the Catholic powers were not in like manner disposed to favour the house of Austria. For neither was the veneration for the ancient equal to the zeal which appeared for the new doctrines and forms of worship; nor were political motives wanting, which in certain Catholic governments counterbalanced those

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those of religion. The princes and states of Italy, who generally looked up to Henry as their protector, favoured his views secretly. But the Venetians entered openly into a league, offensive and defensive, with a monarch through whose mediation they had been enabled to maintain the civil authority of the republic in opposition to the spiritual jurisdiction of the pope, and whom they regarded as a bulwark against the encroachments of the Spanish governors of Milan. The Swiss cantons, too, Catholic as well as Protestant, either actuated by a dread of the power of Austria, or, as other historians affirm, induced by a promise of Franche Compté, Alsace, and Tirol, embarked in this confederacy*. The duke of Savoy, also, a Catholic prince, but who never professed an inordinate zeal for the Romish faith, Henry drew over to his side, by a promise of his eldest daughter in marriage to the prince of Piedmont, and by holding up to his ambition the sovereignty of Milan. That sovereignty the duke had in vain expected to receive in partage with Catherine, a daughter of Spain; a mortification the more severe, that the joint authority of the archduke Albert and the Infanta Isabella governed the Austrian Netherlands.

Jesuits banished from Rome 1606.

* Mezeray Abrege Chronologique, 1609.

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THE high esteem in which Henry held this new ally, appears from the terms on which he purchased his alliance. The general voice of admiration had bestowed on both these princes the title of Great; and their respective talents and virtues, so formidable to each other, when in a state of mutual hostility, inspired them now with reciprocal confidence.

WHILE Henry thus prepared to carry his intentions into execution, an event happened which, according to his usual good fortune, gave him an opportunity of covering his real designs, under the veil of redressing injuries, and supporting the cause of justice.

Succession of Cleves and Juliers.

JOHN WILLIAM, duke of Cleves and Juliers, having died without children, the right of succession to the sovereignty of those states was claimed by different princes. The most powerful of these prepared to maintain their pretensions by arms. But the emperor Rhodolphus II. as well to support his own authority, as to prevent the calamities of war, summoned the several competitors to appear before him, to explain the nature of their particular claims. In the mean time, he sequestered the fiefs in dispute, the administration of which he bestowed on his brother Leopold, bishop of Strasbourg and Passau. The administrator, seizing Juliers, levied troops, and began to extend

tend his territories around that city. Two of the competitors, the marquis of Brandenburgh and the count Palatine of Neuburgh, protestant princes, alarmed at the conduct of the emperor, agreed to make a fair partition of that sovereignty to which they severally made pretensions, until their differences should be terminated in an amicable manner by arbitration.

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THE count Palatine took the field with an army, and assembling the states of Cleves and Juliers at Dusseldorp, engaged them to acknowledge himself and the elector of Brandenburgh as the lawful hereditary sovereigns of Cleves, Juliers, La Mark, Ravensberg, &c. and all the other principalities that had been possessed by John William beyond the Rhine. Alarmed at these proceedings, the Catholic princes of the empire formed a league for the defence of the ancient faith, and sent deputies to demand assistance from Madrid and from Rome. The princes of Brandenburgh and Neuburgh, on the other hand, endeavoured to fortify themselves in the states of which they had taken possession, by adding to the support they received from the princes of the evangelical union, the powerful aid of the king of France. The states of Cleves and Juliers annexed to the Austrian Netherlands,

on

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on which they bordered, would have extended the dominions of Spain beyond the Rhine, and
1609. bridled the power of the Seven United Provinces. It was not therefore with difficulty that the Protestant princes prevailed on Henry to espouse their cause. To the prince of Anhalt, whom they had sent to Paris, he readily replied, and in the most obliging manner, that he would not only assist them with all his strength, but would himself march for their protection at the head of his army. This army consisted of thirty thousand foot, and six thousand horse, a great proportion of which troops were veterans, commanded by officers formed
1610. for war under his own standard. He had a train of artillery superior to any that had ever before been brought into the field, and provided with ammunition for sixty thousand round of shot. And so great and judicious had been the œconomy of Henry, that he possessed treasures sufficient to keep on foot so great a military force for ten years, without the least oppression or injury to his subjects *. Besides this, there was an army in Dauphiny, of twelve thousand foot and two thousand horse, under the command of the mareschal Lesdiguieres, ready to join the duke of Savoy in an attack upon the

* Duke of Rohan's Discourse on the Death of Henry the Great. Memoires de Sulli. Mezeray.

Spanish

Spanish dominions in Lombardy. Europe had not seen military preparations so great, or known a juncture apparently so big with revolution. The wealth of Venice, the valour of the Swiss, the impetuosity of the Savoyards, the juvenile ardour of the United Provinces, the active zeal of the Protestant princes and states of Germany, the disciplined bravery of France, the good wishes of all who professed the reformed religion; these, in the hands of a warlike and political prince, formed an engine fitted to subvert kingdoms, and to change the face of the world. The force of the means he possessed, and the grandeur of the end he had in view, were a source of delight to the martial and sanguine disposition of Henry. Sometimes he would take pleasure in reviewing his troops; at others, in trying the arms he designed to wear in the day of battle. He slept but little, was constantly in motion, and conversed much with the ministers and officers in whom he most confided. He was impatient to exchange the luxury of a palace for the dangers and hardships of the field, and eager to retaliate on the marquis of Spinola, the advantages that had been gained over himself by the duke of Parma. He had already strengthened the garrisons in his frontier towns, and his troops began to file off in separate

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rate divisions towards the general rendezvous in Champagne. He acquainted the archduke Albert at Brussels of his intended march through part of his territories, and desired to be informed whether he should be received as an enemy or as a friend. Nothing detained him in Paris but a desire to be present at the coronation of Mary de Medicis, his queen, whom he had appointed during his absence regent of France.

THE house of Austria, against which this gathering storm was directed, beheld it with astonishing indifference. The emperor Rhodolphus, more intent on observing the motions of the heavenly bodies than on watching the movements of his enemies, indulged a natural love of science, the only passion that is able to extinguish the pride of power in the breasts of princes. He had given up, with little reluctance, to his brother Matthias, the government of Hungary, Moravia, and Austria, and soon after he also resigned that of Bohemia. With the title of emperor, he lived a private man. It is matter of greater wonder that the king of Spain, in whom the passion of religion did not eradicate all the seeds of ambition, appeared unconcerned at the warlike preparations of an inveterate enemy. Whether the ministers of Spain trusted to the success of those

those plots they had formed against Henry in his own palace; or, that with the superstitious credulity of the age in which they lived, they confided in the completion of those predictions that about this time were so frequent in the mouths of Catholics concerning the sudden death of the king of France*; or that they weakly imagined this monarch had no other object in view than the expulsion of Leopold from the states of Juliers; or from whatever

* This conjecture may appear at first sight, to certain readers, wholly absurd and groundless. Nevertheless it will not seem altogther extravagant, if we reflect on the power of universally received prejudices on even the strongest minds.

About this time, and even long after it, the science of judicial astrology was studied by philosophers of the highest reputation, with great gravity, and, as they firmly believed, with great success. There is in the university of Petersburgh, a very able mathematician, who is making great progress in judicial astrology at this very day. It is certain that the duke of Lerma was a firm believer in the doctrines of this science. See Anecdotes du Ministere du Compté duc D'Olivarez.

Men of sense of the present times, struck with that mixture of genius and extravagance which distinguishes the writings of antiquity, are at a loss how to reconcile so much reason with such wild excursions of fancy; and suspect that many of the opinions delivered in those writings were not real, but popular and affected. There is not a doubt but posterity will entertain similar doubts concerning some of the doctrines of the seventeenth and even eighteenth century. Men are ever changing their opinions, yet ever wondering that the world did not always think as they do now.

secret

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secret cause, it is certain, that amidst a general and anxious suspence, the court of Madrid discovered not any symptoms of alarm. The world, struck with the mighty preparations of France, wondered at the serenity of Spain, when an event happened which proved how much human affairs are governed by causes beyond the reach of princes; which frustrated the well laid designs of the great Henry, and supplied the want of viligance and wisdom in the counsels of Philip.

Death of Henry IV. of France.

On the eve of the day fixed for the coronation of Mary de Medicis, Henry IV. was going in his coach to the arsenal, to converse, according to his custom, with the duke of Sully, superintendant of the finances, and grand-master of the artillery, when he received two stabs with a knife, one of which pierced through the great canal which conveys the blood from the heart to the other parts of the body. The king fell down on the duke of Epernon, who was on one side of him, and in whose ear he was whispering when he received the first wound. This parricide was committed by Francis Ravaillac, a native and schoolmaster of Angouleme, on the 14th day of May, 1610. The ministers of France conceiving that this execrable deed might have been the effect of some secret conspiracy, put Ravaillac to the torture, not only as a punishment

ment due to his crime, but as a means of discovering his abettors and accomplices. But that miserable fanatic had no accomplices; and his only abettors were the priests of the Catholic superstition, whose writings and discourses had fully persuaded him that by murdering the protector of the Protestants, and the enemy of the pope, he would save his own soul from perdition, and obtain, as a reward, eternal life.

Effects of the death of Henry.

THE tragical end of Henry filled one half of Europe with exultation, and the other with horror. The house of Austria rejoiced at the destruction of a formidable enemy; and the votaries of that religion which they patronized, applauded the pious zeal of Ravaillac, which they compared to whatever is most heroic in the lives or deaths of saints, martyrs, and confessors. But a general consternation seized not only the Hugonots of France, but every state professing the reformed religion. The whole Protestant world deplored the untimely fate of the patron of religious toleration: and nations differing in matters of religion, united in bewailing the loss of the illustrious guardian of the liberties of Europe. They indulged the melancholy recollection of his amiable and heroic virtues; his compassion,

to

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to which, on different occasions, he had sacrificed his ambition; the boldness and vigour of his genius, which, disdaining the windings of subtlety and refinement, pursued the paths that led directly to success; his courage, which never forsook him in the most depressing circumstances; his bravery in the field, which by a powerful contagion inspired throughout his whole army irresistible intrepidity; his patience under hardships, and affability in every fortune, which so gained on the hearts of his soldiers, that they served him not only with the loyalty of subjects, but the affection of friends. But the celebrated Benjamin, duke of Rohan, not contented with mingling his own with the groans of nations, found a melancholy satisfaction in pouring forth the sentiments of his heart in a pathetic composition, and transmitting to posterity a memorial of his devotion to his beloved sovereign. This elegy, written in a strain of passion which nothing could have inspired but the deepest sorrow, is a lively picture of the grief and consternation which followed the death of Henry, and exhibits a conspicuous proof of that ascendant which he had acquired over the greatest minds*.

AFTER

* I deplore, says Rohan, among other expressions of extreme and vehement grief, I deplore in the loss of

AFTER the death of Henry, his friends and allies had reason to apprehend that the vindictive

of our invincible king, that of France, and from the bottom of my soul grieve at the manner of his death. Our own experience will soon inform us how fit a subject he is for our tears: the people are alarmed and filled with melancholy presages of future calamities; the towns are guarded as if they expected a siege; the nobility seek their safety amongst the most eminent of their own order, whose factions rather threaten them with danger, than console them with any hopes of safety. Together with the loss of his person, I bewail that of his courtesy and affability, his sweet and obliging conversation. The honour he did me, the admittance he deigned to grant me even to his most private recesses, oblige me not only to mourn for him, but even not to love myself in those places where the sight of my good prince once afforded me such infinite happiness. I regret the disappointment of the most noble and heroic enterprize that was ever yet conceived. It is not credible that a military force of thirty thousand foot, six thousand horse, a train of artillery of sixty guns, and ammunition for sixty thousand round of shot, besides the army then in Dauphiny, should be destined for the siege of Juliers, which was since undertaken with eight thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Have I not good reason to lament the loss of such an opportunity of proving my courage, zeal, and fidelity to my king? One push of a pike given in his presence, would have been a greater satisfaction to me, than I should have now in obtaining a victory. Much more should I have valued the least praise in that art of which he was the greatest master of his time, than the approbation and applause of all other captains now alive. I grieve at the manner of his deplorable death: a prince composed of sweetness and clemency; who never condemned an innocent person to death; whose victories were never stain-

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dictive passions of the house of Austria would be heightened and inflamed by the hope of gratification. The Italian states especially, over-awed by the power of Philip in Naples and in Lombardy, trembled lest the Spanish arms should over-run all Italy. But Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, whose noble mind was inspired with the pride rather than the despondency of grief, endeavoured to rally the broken forces of the league, and to unite them once more into a compact and formidable body.

ed with blood; who having once reclaimed his enemies to their duty, cherished them as friends, and loaded them with favours. Who that ever lived under this most august prince, can take pleasure in these present times? I will therefore divide my life into two parts, and call that part of it I have already passed, *happy*, since it was employed in the service of Henry the Great; and that which is yet to come, *unfortunate*, and spend it in lamentations, tears, sighs, and complaints: and out of the honour which I owe to his memory, I will devote the remainder of my days (the kingdom of God being preserved entire) to the service of France, because it was his kingdom; to the king, because he is his son; and to the queen, because she was once his dear companion and spouse.

Sir Francis Cottington, in a letter to the lord treasurer Salisbury, dated at Madrid the 16th of May, 1610, says, "The constable, in name of his king, this day visited the French ambassador, with whom I have also been, since the arrival of the French king's death; and I do assure your lordship, that though the cause be strange and great, in my poor judgment he discovers more passion than becomes a wise man; his tears and exclamations are more than can be imagined.

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THE house of Savoy, one of the most illustrious in Europe on account of its antiquity, is more nobly distinguished for wisdom of policy, and valour of arms. Environed by the dominions of the empire, France, and Spain, the princes of Savoy are under a constant necessity of watching the balance of power among their ambitious neighbours, and of penetrating early into their designs, that, by affording timely support to the weaker against the stronger party, they may be enabled to preserve their own independence. And, if Providence has placed this family in a situation in which it is necessary to guard against the encroachments of superior power; the nature of their country, bold, abrupt, and sublime, inspires that confidence which is necessary effectually to resist them. The fastnesses and narrow defiles of the Alps, together with a hardy race of men inhabiting a mountainous and snowy region, encourage the dukes of Savoy boldly to enter on war, whenever the complexion of the times demonstrates its expedience. Thus natural have conspired with moral causes to form that illustrious character which the race of Savoy has justly obtained in the world.

Character of the dukes of Savoy.

CHARLES EMANUEL did not disgrace, but, on the contrary, added lustre to the dignity of his

Character of Charles Emanuel.

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his birth. Nature, which had formed this prince of a weakly constitution of body, adorned his soul with a splendid variety of talents and virtues; and these the parental care of Philibert, renowned for his victory over the French at St. Quintin, exalted and matured by a learned and liberal education. The writings of antiquity; so full of heroic actions and rapid conquests, nourished the natural ardour of his mind, and inspired an emulation of the ancient heroes of Italy. Together with that intrepidity of spirit which delights in pursuing great designs, he possessed in an eminent degree those qualities which are requisite in order to carry them into execution; political conduct, and military prowess. His courage was not of that calm and equal kind which is connected with firmness of nerves, and which characterizes the warriors of the North. But, being derived from the vigour of imagination, and sensibility of frame peculiar to southern climates, it was ardent and impetuous. His genius also, like that of the warmer climates, was fertile even to excess, and prone to subtlety and refinement. From a temper so sanguine, and an imagination so luxuriant, he derived an elasticity of spirit that rose under misfortunes; whence, though sometimes defeated, and often disappointed, he was never discouraged. His resources were endless: for

there

there could not be a conjecture in which the superiority of his genius could not find some favourable opportunity of practising on the passions, and managing the hopes, and fears, and follies of men. So various were his stratagems of policy and of war, that the most penetrating of his cotemporaries professed themselves unable to form any probable conjecture concerning his designs. Something, however, of the vast and unbounded characterized his conduct, the ardour of his inventive genius, engaging him not unfrequently in projects beyond his utmost power to accomplish. Nor were the powers of his capacious mind wholly absorbed in schemes of ambition. Whatever was elegant or great touched his soul, and he was prone to the pleasures of society and love. He was a friend to men of letters, a patron of all the arts, an enthusiastic admirer and bountiful rewarder of merit of every kind. And the greatness of his mind was so happily tempered with benignity and grace, that the engaging affability of his noble deportment alleviated in the breasts of his subjects the hardships which they suffered through his restless ambition. On the whole, it is difficult to conceive that qualities so opposite should co-exist in the same person; so great boldness with such deep design; such loftiness of spirit, with such sweetness of

BOOK V. meanour; such ardour of mind with so much subtilty, and such profound dissimulation

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THIS prince who had opened his mind to the greatest designs, and whose natural ambition had been encouraged and fortified by confidence in Henry, did not abandon them after he was deprived by death of so great an ally. His penetrating eye had discovered the languid state of the Spanish monarchy, and he entertained a contempt for the counsels by which it was now governed †. He did not, therefore, yet despair of being able to extend his dominion over that fair territory which had awakened his ambition. Should he be able to reunite the scattered forces of the league, that had been formed by Henry, success would be certain: even if France should remain neutral, he hoped to maintain a contest with the Catholic king, both with glory and with advantage. He, therefore, endeavoured to revive a powerful combination a-

Charles Emanuel endeavours to revive the league against the house of Austria.

* In this singular character there is not a trait unsupportable by the testimony of cotemporary historians, who, all of them, mention this prince with an admiration which could not have been excited but by the most amazing talents. See Bellum Sabaudicum, &c. Alfonso Loschi; Battistia Nani; Siri Memorie recondite; Le Mecure Francois, Histoire de la Regence de Marie de Medicis, &c. &c.

† Batt. Nani, lib. i. Siri Memorie recondite, tom. iii. p. 242.

gainst

gainst the house of Austria, whose power he represented as excessive and dangerous. He attempted to establish an alliance with France, by obtaining from the new regency a confirmation of the promise that had been made by Henry of giving his eldest daughter in marriage to the prince of Piedmont. But, after the death of the French monarch, all the maxims of his policy were subverted, and the schemes he had projected abandoned.

THE parliament of Paris, intimidated by the menaces of the duke of Epernon, who commanded the regiment of guards, committed an involuntary act of usurpation*, by declaring Mary de Medicis sole regent of France during the minority of her son, an infant in the ninth year of his age. This queen, uniting in her character the refinement of an Italian, with the feebleness of a woman, and the superstition of a good Catholic, was governed by maxims directly contrary to those which had been adopted by the manly and liberal genius of Henry. She sought to establish her authority, by exciting jealousies among those who wished to subvert it; and armed her enemies against herself by concessions intended to

Character of Mary de Medicis, queen regent of France.

* The right of electing a regent had hitherto belonged to the general estates of the kingdom.

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conciliate their favour. She had obtained the regency without opposition, but not without envy. The princes of the blood, highly offended at the advancement of a stranger, though a queen of France, to a dignity to which they themselves made pretensions, retired from court, and were followed by their numerous adherents. It was the policy of Mary to raise up in opposition to her domestic enemies a faction among the rest of the nobility, and to acquire friends by a profusion of pensions, offices, and governments. The treasures which the late king had amassed in order to over-awe his enemies, she employed in soothing resentment, and allaying discontent. All the assiduities, and intreaties, and remonstrances of Charles Emanuel to a princess, whose conduct was directed by these principles, were fruitless. Far from joining a confederacy against the house of Austria, she hearkened with pleasure to a proposal, that had been rejected by the late king, of a double marriage between the dauphin of France, and the eldest infanta, and of the prince of Spain with Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of France. This project was first suggested to the court of Madrid by the Pope, who believed that, by means of these intermarriages the house of Austria would acquire such an influence in the councils of France, as would in the end exterminate that

that heresy which had so obstinately resisted all other efforts.

1610.

IMMEDIATELY after the death of Henry, the court of Madrid, having first discharged the duties of decorum by going into mourning, and by the strongest professions of condolence*, renewed to the regent queen the proposition of that double alliance, which had met with her fondest approbation before that tragical event which led to the power with which she was now invested. That event did not produce any change in the inclinations of Mary towards an union with Spain; on the contrary, if that union appeared formerly desirable, it now seemed necessary, in order to support her

* Sir Francis Cottington writes to the lord treasurer Salisbury, that the king of Spain and all his children, with the grandees abiding in his court, on hearing the tidings of the unfortunate death of the French king, put on mourning apparel. But notwithstanding these outward shews of sorrow, he assures his lordship that these tidings were in general received by the Spaniards with the most immodest and immoderate joy that is possible to be conceived. This excessive and indecent joy, he says, appeared chiefly among the common people. The king ordered the comedians to leave Madrid. "The religious men, in their pulpit," says Cottington, "gave praise unto God: and the ordinary sort of courtiers discourse of it as a miraculous blessing to the king and state; and in all kinds of people there is this kind of apprehension; yet I am told, that his majesty himself was for some hours very much troubled."

authority,

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authority, in so much danger of being overturned by the turbulence of faction.

1611.

In the month of April, 1611, the king of Spain and the queen regent of France formally expressed their consent to the intermarriage of their sons and daughters by their respective ambassadors. On this occasion they also entered into a defensive league, engaging to give each other mutual aid in case of either intestine commotion or foreign invasion. The Spaniards endeavoured to improve and consolidate this union, by engaging the French in a league, offensive as well as defensive; but to this, the queen, whose utmost ambition was to maintain, not to extend her power, refused, in positive terms, to consent*.

Project of intermarriages between the royal families of France and Spain.

Thus not only was the house of Austria delivered from the attacks of that confederacy which had been formed against her, but she acquired an accession of strength by an ascendant in the counsels of that kingdom which so lately appeared her most formidable enemy. In vain did Charles Emanuel, seconded by the importunities of the Pope†, solicit the Venc-

* Siri Mem. recond. tom. ii. p. 534. Memoires de la Regence de Marie de Medicis. Histoire des Dernieres Troubles en France. Malingre.

† Winwood's Memoirs, vol. iii.

tians

tians to join in an offensive and defensive league against the ambitious Spaniards. The conduct of France determined that of Venice. The senate, having learned the designs of Mary de Medicis, replied to the duke of Savoy, that it was indeed the interest of all the sovereign powers of Italy to maintain a good correspondence among themselves, and to provide for the common safety; but it was to be feared, they added, that such a league as had been proposed by his highness would serve only to excite the jealousy of Spain, a nation which, of all others, had the strongest motives to cultivate peace with all her neighbours. To his holiness, whom they suspected of a versatility of character, which might soon lead him to relapse into the views of that court, against which he now declaimed, they answered, that they could not be persuaded that his apprehensions concerning the views of Spain were well founded.

But Charles Emanuel, not discouraged by the defection of both France and Venice, pursued a thousand schemes, and extended his intrigues all over Europe. He held a close correspondence with the discontented lords in France. He inflamed the jealousy and the resentment of the Protestant princes of Germany. He proposed to king James a marriage of the prince of Wales with the princess of Savoy, and of the prince of Piedmont with a daughter of

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of England. The mysterious character of Charles, in the opinion of some writers, renders it doubtful whether he believed he should, or desired he might, succeed in this project; and whether it was not his only object, by exciting a jealousy among the great Catholic powers, of his connection with a Protestant prince, to dissolve the treaty of the double alliance between France and Spain, and to obtain the eldest daughter of one of these crowns in marriage to the prince of Piedmont *. Whatever

* The conjectures of these writers, which mark so strongly the general opinion that was entertained of the duke of Savoy, appear rather refined. I find in Chamberlayne's Letters, among Dr. Birch's Collection in the British Museum, that the duke, on this occasion, shewed every mark of sincerity and earnestness. To the English ambassador at Turin, he was highly munificent. He consulted the temper of the English monarch, by sending, as his ambassador to the court of London, a person, who concealed the most profound penetration under the mask of dissipation, mirth, and pleasantry. "Fabritio," says Chamberlayne in his Letters, anno 1612, "spends his time merrily with the king, and is never from him."—"The Savoyard ambassador," says he again, "gives himself buono tempo, notwithstanding that the match grows cold, and frequents good company."—King James, as is well known, had a passion for hunting, and delighted in a collection of wild beasts. The duke of Savoy, who knew this, as a mark of attention to his majesty, sent him a present of an ounce and a leopard. The animals were fetched from London to Theobald's, where the king resided. The leopard had almost committed an unpardonable fault, for he fixed on a red deer's calf, nursed up at Theobald's by a woman

entertained

Whatever were his views, they were frustrated by the mean vanity of the English monarch, who concealed not from the world his opinion that any alliance, below that of a great king, was entirely unworthy of the heir apparent to the crown of England.

In the mean time, the Spanish troops that were on foot in the Milanese, those of Savoy in Piedmont, and the French army, under Lesdiguieres, in Dauphiny, were subjects of various jealousies and apprehensions. The Spaniards seemed ready to pour into Piedmont, and the Savoyards threatened an incursion into Milan; while an army, commanded by a Protestant general, excited an uneasiness in the queen regent herself, as well as other Catholic princes.

In this situation of affairs, the Pope interceded with Mary de Medicis, to disband the troops in Dauphiny, and importuned the king of Spain and the duke of Savoy to dismiss those troops which were a source of so much anxiety and dread to France as well as to Italy. The influence of his holiness easily prevailed

entertained for the purpose, and much ado there was to save the poor suckling. These circumstances, however trifling, are proofs that the duke of Savoy had studied the disposition of James, and that he wished to gain his affections.

on

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on the queen to disband an army, commanded by a general in whose fidelity she did not repose entire confidence, but did not operate so quickly on the minds of Philip and Charles Emanuel. The former insisted that the duke of Savoy should lay down his arms first, and make satisfaction for his engagement with the late king of France. The latter alledged, on the contrary, that the weaker party ought to stand upon his guard when he seemed to be threatened by a more powerful neighbour *.

The duke of Savoy obliged to make submissions to the king of Spain.

THE satisfaction which Philip demanded of the duke of Savoy was, that he should ask pardon for his secret treaty with France to the prejudice of the crown of Spain; and that he should send one of his sons to Madrid, to remain there as a pledge of his father's fidelity.

CHARLES EMANUEL, deserted by all the world, was under a necessity of complying with these mortifying conditions. Prince Philibert, of Savoy, set out from Turin to Madrid on horseback: and while he pursued this long and tedious journey, he had a foretaste of those severe mortifications which he was to experience after it should be accomplished; for he received not, in any of the Spanish towns

* Siri Memoirie recondite, tom. ii. p. 355.

through

through which he passed, the least mark of attention or respect from the king his uncle. Philip, however, received his nephew, at the first interview, with a decent civility: not a word, indeed, was said of the duke, but the kindest enquiries were made concerning the princes and princesses of Savoy. But the second audience was not so agreeable to this stranger: he was now to make satisfaction to the king of Spain in name of the duke of Savoy. The prince, accordingly, had framed an address to his Catholic majesty, sufficient, as he imagined, to satisfy the pride of Spain on the one hand, but, on the other, such as was not unworthy the independent dignity of the duke his father. This address he delivered with a noble grace, and with all those demonstrations of respect which can have place in an intercourse between sovereign princes. With this appearance of his nephew, the mild temper of the king was inclined to be contented; but in the air and manner of Philibert, as well as in the sentiments he expressed, there appeared to the Spanish ministers something not sufficiently humble and submissive; wherefore they drew up a new form of submission, breathing the supplications of a subject prostrate before his offended sovereign. The prince, yielding to necessity, rehearsed these haughty dictates with indignant reluctance.

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PHILIP now ordered his troops to withdraw from the Milanese; but Charles Emanuel, provoked even to madness at the indignities with which the court of Madrid had insulted him in the person of his son, refused to disband his army in Piedmont. He threatened to disavow the submission that had been made in his name to the king of Spain, against whom he declaimed with indignation and rage; and, by various movements, indicated an intention of revenging his cause, either on that monarch, or his new ally, the queen regent of France. These confederates, he attempted by various arts to divide; but all his efforts were fruitless; and the united authority of the Pope, Philip III. and Mary de Medicis, compelled him at last to lay down his arms *.

THE storm that threatened the house of Austria being thus finally dispelled by its authority rather than power, Spain, pursuing the same pacific system, studied to maintain her dignity by the arts of policy, not the terrors of war. In the month of August, 1612, the duke of Pastrana, was sent to Paris, to conclude and confirm a matrimonial contract between Elizabeth of France and the prince

Contract of marriage between Elizabeth of France and the prince of Spain.

* History of the reign of Lewis XIII. by Levassor, vol. i. anno 1611.

of

of Spain; and about the same time, the duke of Mayne arrived in Madrid, in order to settle and ratify a treaty of marriage between young Lewis and the infanta Anne. The two princesses renounced every right of succession to any of the states of their native kingdoms; and their dowries were equal, being each five hundred thousand crowns. But these contracts were not performed till an interval had elapsed of more than three years*. 1612.

Cotemporary writers relate, with a minute circumstantiality, the festivity and magnificence that was displayed by the courts of France and Spain on occasion of these intermarriages, and describe, with equal exactness, the ceremonies that constituted and accompanied them. They observe, with a sort of satisfaction, that the year 1612, in which the parties were mutually betrothed, was justly styled the year of magnificence. For this year, also, Matthias II. being raised to the Imperial throne, in the stead of his deceased brother, Rhodolphus, all Germany, as well as France and Spain, resounded with the voice of gladness and exultation†. So naturally do men

* Histoire de Louis XIII. durant la Regence de la Reine Marie de Medicis. Malingre.

† Hist. du Regne de Louis XIII. et de principaux Eve-

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sympathise with the great, and so sincere is their joy at their prosperity! This disposition sufficiently accounts for those copious details of anecdotes, circumstances, and facts, which we find in the journalists of those times; but would not apologize for a recital of them in a narrative addressed to another age. Such particulars, however, as serve to paint characters and manners are interesting at all times, and, therefore, ought not to be wholly omitted.

When the duke of Mayenne took leave of the court of Madrid, before his return to Paris, he entreated the infanta to honour him with some commission to the king his master. "Tell him, said the infanta, that I am very impatient to see him." This answer of the princess overwhelmed her governess, the countess of Altamira, with shame and confusion. "Ah, madam, cried this lady, "what will the king of France think, when the duke shall report to him that you have so great a passion for marriage?" "You have taught me," replied the infanta, with great liveliness, "that one must always speak the truth." After this frank declaration on

nemens arrivez pendant ce Regne dans tous les Pais du Monde. Historia de Don Felippe IV. per Don Gonçalo de Cespedes, libro i. capitulo 2. Memoires de la Regence de Marie de Medicis. Mercure François, 1612.

the

the part of Anne, Lewis could do no less in return than express, in like manner, an impatience to see and to receive his bride. Accordingly, as soon as he was informed that the infanta had arrived in France*, he sent a letter to her, by his favourite Luynes, fraught with expressions of respect and of love. The queen-regent also wrote an affectionate letter to her daughter-in-law. Anne replied to the young monarch's address, in a manner that could not offend the delicacy of even the countess of Altamira. Having first expressed great satisfaction in the accounts she had received of his majesty's health, she professed a desire of arriving at a place where she might have an opportunity of serving the queen, her mother, and where she would be free from the langour of her present solitude†.

1612.

1615.

THE Arabian conquerors of Spain had introduced into that kingdom an hospitality, generosity, and refinement, unknown before in

* This did not come to pass till the month of November, 1615.

† Hist. du Regne de Louis XIII.

" Sennor,

" Mucho me heholgado con Luynes con las buenas, nuevas, que me ha dado de la salud de V. M. yo vengo con ella, et muy desseosa de llegar donde pueda servir a my madre. Y ansi me doy mucha Priessa a caminar

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the West*. The court of Cordova was the most elegant and polite in the world; and thither generous spirits resorted from all parts of Europe. Together with the mechanical, the Saracens cultivated the liberal arts; and while an external magnificence appeared in their buildings, furniture, and dress, their poetry and music, consecrated to heroism and love, displayed an inward generosity and elegance of mind still more noble and affecting. Hence the Spanish nation possessed a taste for grandeur, a generosity of disposition, a delicacy of sentiment, which in the period under review were unequalled, and which have not yet been exceeded in any other nation. Accordingly in that competition of courtesy and gallantry, which arose, on occasion of the intermarriages, the Spaniards far outshone the French. Not only did they exhibit greater splendour in their equipages, processions, and shews, but a more delicate taste, and higher style appeared in their manners. The munificence of the grandees to the princess of Spain and the ladies of her

1612-15. The gallantry and honour of the Spanish nation accountedfor.

por la soledad que me haze, y bezar a V. M. la mano a quien dios guarde come desseo. Beza los manos a V. M. Anna."

* A very amusing as well as philosophical account of the causes that formed this national character, is given by Mr. Richardson, in his Dissertation on the Languages, Literature, and Manners of Eastern Nations.

court,

court, to the young queen of France and her attendants, and also to the queen-regent, was unbounded. The French ambassador, on his way to Madrid, received a sumptuous entertainment at the mansion of the prime minister of Spain. This entertainment was so contrived that it appeared to have been given, not by the duke, but at the expence of the inhabitants of the town of Lerma, transported with joy at the presence of a stranger so honourably distinguished. In Burgos, Segovia, Madrid, and other towns in Spain, in which the prince had occasion to appear, the citizens celebrated his nuptials with fire-works, illuminations, triumphal arches, balls, masquerades, musical and dramatical performances, and other ingenious diversions *.

At this time there did not appear in the Spanish dominions any symptoms of declining trade, or exhausted wealth. The face of the whole empire was gay and magnificent. But so expensive a display of loyalty was not approved by the duke of Ossuna, viceroy of Naples, a man of wit, whim, and fancy, and in every respect himself the most extravagant person subject to the crown of Spain. The

* Mercure François, 1612. Historia de Don Felippe IV. por Don Gonçalo, de Cespedes, libro i. capitulo 2.

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men of rank in Sicily*, with a strange mixture of obsequiousness and vanity, presented a petition to Ossuna, humbly praying that they might be permitted to solemnize the publication of the double marriages as well as the other subjects of the empire. They proposed, at the same time, to levy a tax upon themselves for this purpose. The duke greatly applauded this design, which he encouraged, by contributing himself to its execution, with equal frankness and liberality; but, after the money of the Sicilians was all put into one bank, the viceroy, in the plenitude of his power, gave orders that not one maravedie should be wasted in idle pomp and shew; but that it should be distributed among certain poor virgins of honourable descent; adding withal, that, in his opinion, the money would be better employed in the multiplication, than in the solemnization of marriages. The subsequent conduct of this singular person will recall this anecdote to the mind of the reader, and incline him, perhaps, to conjecture, that this judicious disposal of the Sicilian treasure, did not originate either in a disapprobation of waste, or in mere regard to the Sicilian damsels.

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* The Titoladi. Winwood's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 377.

1613. The political schemes of Spain disordered by the restless ambition of the duke of Savoy.

THE Spaniards had now leisure to breathe after the toils of war; and the authority of the Spanish name being in some measure restored by the submission of the duke of Savoy, and an advantageous connection with France, they endeavoured, for the present*, to maintain it by policy, rather than to extend it by a hazardous appeal to arms. But the ambitious spirit of Charles Emanuel, incapable of rest, and impatient of disgrace, soon obliged them to quit that shade of ancient authority and renown, under which they attempted to conceal the real state of Spain, and to prove its strength or its weakness in the field of battle. The duke of Savoy, being descended from the imperial house of Paleologi, possessed ancient pretensions to the sovereignty of Montferrat, which was also claimed and enjoyed by the family of Gonzaga. In order to compose the differences which frequently arose from this contested claim, a marriage was concluded between Francis, duke of Mantua, and Margaret of Savoy; Charles Emanuel, in favour of this alliance, having resigned to his daughter and her children, his right of succession to the

* There are writers who affirm that at this time the Spanish ministers were so elated at the alliance with France, that they considered it as the sure forerunner of the reduction of the revolted provinces.

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marquisate in question. Francis died in the month of December, 1612, leaving behind him an only child, a daughter, in the fourth year of her age. Ferdinand, cardinal of Gonzaga, brother to the late duke, was, beyond all doubt, heir to the duchy of Mantua; but the sovereignty of Montferrat, which was not a fief-male, descended upon his niece, the young princess Maria. In these circumstances the duke of Savoy conceived the design of reviving his pretensions to that state. His right to the marquisate he did not consider as diminished, but rather strengthened by that of his grand-child; and the guardianship of this infant would give him an entire power over that inheritance, which he claimed in her name, as well as his own. And that the cardinal might not derive any advantage over him, in the contest that was likely to ensue, by immediate succession, he had recourse to one of those stratagems of which his genius was so singularly fruitful. His daughter Margaret, the widow of the deceased duke of Mantua, as well as all his other children, returned the fondness of his parental affections with a tenderness and filial reverence that knew no bounds. This lady he easily persuaded to declare that she was pregnant, and soon after he sent the prince Victor Amadæus to Mantua, on pretence of consoling his sister, but, in reality, in

The duke of Savoy revives his pretensions to the sovereignty of Montferrat.

in order to conduct her to Turin, if that could be accomplished, or to Milan, or to Montferrat. "It is not fit, said the prince of Piedmont to the court of Mantua, that a mournful widow should pass her days in a place where every thing around her renews her grief, by recalling to her imagination the object of her sorrow; nor is it decent that she should remain longer under the eye of a person jealous of the succession to Mantua. And whithersoever my sister goes, continued the prince, "thither it is reasonable that the young princess should accompany her." Nature herself recommends children to the care of their parents: and, what nature unites by the dearest bands of affection, it would be impiety to separate." But the cardinal, well knowing the end of this discourse, replied, that it would be improper to remove the duchess from Mantua, while she carried in her womb the important pledge of the happiness of the Mantuan state. "If the sight," said he, "of my deceased brother's palace be afflicting to his widow, others are not wanting, whither she may retire with safety, and where she may live with comfort."

In the mean time Charles Emanuel, the better to effect his designs, endeavours to engage in his cause the influence and authority of the crown of Spain. The Spanish governor of Milan

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Milan at this time, was John Mendoza, marquis of Inoiosa, who had formerly signalised his valour in the military service of the duke of Savoy, and who had been rewarded with the marquisate of St. German. By this substantial mark of favour, and perhaps not less by those honours and assiduities with which he cultivated the friendship of Mendoza, Charles Emanuel had acquired an ascendant over his mind that seemed almost the effect of superior and invisible power. This man he persuaded to send the prince of Ascoli, accompanied by a numerous retinue, to Mantua, to demand the persons of the duchess and her daughter in the name of the king of Spain; not doubting that, if they should once be brought to Milan, he would afterwards be able to find means of conducting them to Turin. But the cardinal refused to let the princesses go; a resolution in which he was confirmed and supported by the emperor, the queen-regent of France, and the republic of Venice*. At length, after an interval of three months, the duchess Margaret, having declared that she was not pregnant, was allowed to return to her father's house; but all her tears could not obtain permission to take along with her, her infant daughter. Fer-

* Batt. Nani, lib. i. 1613. Siri Mem. recond. tom. iii. Winwood's Memoirs, vol. iii.

dinand,

dinand, having assumed the title and power of the duke of Mantua, sent the bishop of Diocesarea to Milan to apologise for his disobedience to the orders of Spain, from a regard to the decree of the emperor, who had adjudged to him the tutelage of his niece; farther enjoining the prelate to pass on to Vercelli, to console Margaret who lived there, and at the same time to insinuate a proposal of a marriage between that princess and the cardinal duke, as the only means of quenching the flames of discord, and uniting the houses of Savoy and Gonzaga, both by blood and affection.

THE bishop, discharging his trust with fidelity and zeal, pressed the duke of Savoy to consent to an accommodation of differences. The duke discovered a readiness to converse on that subject, which inclined the Mantuan envoy at first to conclude that his embassy would not be fruitless. But Charles, still rising in his demands, in proportion to the importunity of the bishop, had nothing else in view, than, by amusing this ecclesiastic with frequent conferences, to gain time for ripening a project as bold as any that had ever been conceived by any politician or hero. Before his eyes there lay the state of Montferrat, to which he had ancient pretensions, and which intersected and broke

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broke the strength of Piedmont, on one side extending itself even to the Alps, and on another stretching well nigh to Turin. This state, defended only by the lamentations and complaints of its present possessor, lay naked and exposed to the sudden attack of any hostile invader. The princes of Italy, enervated by luxury, would not easily be awaked from that profound sleep into which they had been lulled by long habits of peace, indolence, and subordination. The Emperor, on that side of the Alps, scarcely possessed the shadow of power. The kingdom of France was torn in pieces by intestine discord; and the power of Spain, though formidable, was distant. The Milanese, lately disarmed, was destitute of military stores and provisions; and, what was a great encouragement to Charles Emanuel, it was governed by his confident Mendoza, whose mind he might regulate with his usual address; or, if he should prove unmanageable, which possessed not those masterly powers which are requisite to act a successful part in new and difficult situations. The deliberative genius of Spain, would not act with an unusual celerity on an occasion, when a fear of drawing the French into Italy, would naturally recommend cautious circumspection: or, if the personal hatred of the duke of Lerma should prevail in the breast of that favourite, over reasons

reasons of state, before the hands of Inoiosa could be strengthened by a reinforcement from Spain, the power of Savoy might be established in Montferrat. Of all considerations, that which gave the Duke of Savoy most uneasiness, was the vigilance of the Venetian senate, to whom no revolution in their neighbourhood ever appeared an object of indifference. But he hoped that however they might interpose their counsels, they would not hastily exchange the blessings of peace for the calamities of war. On the whole, while distant states were ignorant of his schemes, and before the princes of Italy, involved in clouds of mutual jealousy, diffidence and doubt, would unite either in power or design to oppose him, he resolved to carry into Montferrat the thunder of his arms, and to anticipate resistance by decisive conquest and firm possession.

The duke of Savoy invades Montferrat.

HAVING secretly assembled his troops, while the bishop of Diocesarea yet waited for a definitive answer to the proposals he had made for reconciliation and peace, Charles Emanuel issued forth from Vercelli in the silence of the night that followed the 22d day of April; and distributing his army in three divisions, poured into Montferrat the terror and devastation of war. There was not any thing in that marquisate capable of sustaining his impetuous

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petuous force; Casal, the capital, in which the duke Vicenzo had planted a strong fortress, only excepted. And this also would have quickly fallen into his hands, if Gonzaga, duke of Nevers, who happened at that time to be in Italy, had not suddenly thrown himself into it, with a small force which he hastily raised on the coast of Genoa. By garrisoning and fortifying such of the towns he had taken, as were most important for their situation and strength, he formed a chain of posts which opened a communication between those rich and fertile countries that are extended along the course of the Tanarus and the Po: and in these he hoped to maintain his army by contributions and plunder *.

The duke of Savoy endeavours to secure his conquests.

It was now the duke of Savoy's object to secure his conquests, and for this purpose, he endeavoured either to appease those powers whom he well knew the violence of his conduct had offended, by submissive professions of respect, and insidious concessions; or to divert their attacks from himself, by making them objects of jealousy to one another. The queen-regent of France being informed of the irruption of the Savoyards into Mont-

* Mercure Françoise, 1613. Bat. Nau. Hist. lib. i. 1613. Hist. du Regne de Louis XIII.

ferrat,

ferrat, was not untouched by the situation of her nephew the duke of Mantua. In the first fervour of passion she declared her resolution to support the house of Gonzaga, both with her influence and arms. Accordingly she immediately sent the duchess of Nevers to Grenoble, to engage the mareschal Lesdiguieres, who commanded the troops on the confines of Savoy, speedily to march with a powerful army to check the progress of Charles Emanuel in Montferrat, and to chastise his presumption. But Charles wrote a letter full of respect to the queen, and, in order to soothe the first transports of her resentment, offered to submit his pretensions to her arbitration, and to resign into her hands, in the mean time, the places he had taken in Montferrat, as a pledge of his deference to her authority and her justice. At the same time he instructed his partizans at the court of Paris, where he had found means of conciliating the goodwill of the favourites, the mareschal and lady mareschal D'Anre, to represent to the queen the impolicy of trusting a great army in the hands of a Protestant general; and the imprudence of rousing the jealousy, and inviting the resistance of the king of Spain. The nuncio too, and the Spanish ambassador having, from obvious motives, urged the same arguments, the queen determined to coun-

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countermand the orders she had sent, or rather the application she had made to Lesdiguieres, and to employ in behalf of her nephew only her good offices at the court of Madrid*.

In order to divert the resentment of Spain, or to suspend its effects, Charles Emanuel employed greater art than that which had managed the court of France, but with less success. He dispatched his confessor to the governor of Milan, humbly to apologize for his invasion of Montferrat, without the knowledge and consent of the king of Spain. This messenger was soon after followed by the prince of Piedmont, and the prince of Piedmont by a number of other ambassadors in rapid succession. These were all of them charged with offers so various and incompatible, that the mind of Inoiosa, distracted and confounded amidst so great a diversity of views, knew not which to pursue, but remained in a state of inactivity and irresolution. Thus the duke endeavoured to prevent a contest with his friend Mendoza in arms, by storming as it were the seat of his affections and passions, whence alone flow all the operations of war and of peace; and by making, in the

* Batt. Nani. Hist. lib. i. 1613. Histoire du Connetable de Lesdiguieres. lib. viii. ch. 4 & 5. Siri Memoire recondite, tom. iii. p. 92, 93.

language of the celebrated Nani, a war of wit upon his mind. But the ingenious subtlety of Charles Emanuel, not satisfied with preventing Inoiosa from acting at all, attempted to make him act in such a manner, as to advance the interests of Savoy in Italy, and wholly to ruin those of Spain. The stratagem by which he hoped to effect this bold design was specious. He proposed that the governor, in the name of the king of Spain, should, with his assistance, take possession of the metropolis, the only place of considerable strength in Montferrat, but that every other part of that marquisate should be annexed to his own dominions. At the same time, that the authority of the Spanish monarch might be paramount over the whole province, he proposed farther, that the towns which he had taken, being garrisoned by Savoyards, should have the arms of Spain affixed to all their gates. But Mendoza, who wanted decision rather than penetration, was not ensnared by this insidious proposal. For he was aware, that should the Spaniards seize a part of Montferrat, while the pageantry of their name blazed over the whole, a jealousy would be excited among all the neighbouring powers, which the policy of Charles Emanuel, at a time when the Milanese was almost wholly

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disarmed, would use as an engine to subvert the Spanish power in Italy.

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The duke of Savoy's conduct a subject of mortification to Spain.

THE deep alarm which the invasion of Montferrat spread throughout all the Italian states, was a severe mortification to the lofty spirit of Spain, as it implied a suspicion, that the power of that kingdom might not be sufficient to controul the ambitious designs of the duke of Savoy. The Catholic king, reluctant to enter on war, endeavoured at first to subdue the turbulence of that prince with menaces and frowns; and, by the mere authority of Spain, to quiet the fears and restore the peace of Italy. The secretary Vargas was dispatched from Madrid to Milan, with orders to the governor to announce to Charles Emanuel, that it was the will of Philip that he should withdraw all his troops from Montferrat, and to threaten force in case of disobedience.

THE Spanish ministers in Italy, in like manner, laboured to maintain the authority of their nation, by raising their language to the most majestic tone. The marquis of Inoiosa encouraged the Italian princes to trust in the protection of the king of Spain, rejected with disdain the idea of admitting any associate with that

that monarch in composing the differences of Italy, and attempted by various artifices to prevent Cosmo, duke of Tuscany, from sending assistance to his relation the duke of Mantua. Don Alphonso de la Queva, the Spanish ambassador at Venice, assured the senate, "that, without any noise or trouble, Charles Emanuel should be punished, and Ferdinand restored to his rightful inheritance; that there was no reason to be fearful of any event, or to dread the turbulent ambition of any prince, while the undiminished goodness and power of the potentate, whom he served, would not suffer any innovation in Italy, nor any disturbance of that peace which was so happily enjoyed under his authority*.

Artifices of the duke of Savoy.

But, although he was thus threatened by Spain, although the emperor denounced the imperial ban, and his adversary was directed and supported by the counsels and wealth of Florence and Venice; yet the duke of Savoy remained undaunted, and by policy and arms steadily pursued his object. In order to alarm the jealousy of Spain, he threatened to call to his aid the troops of France. When the Pope exhorted him to peace, he protested that he would overwhelm

* Batt. Nani, Hist. lib. i. 1613.

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Italy with an inundation of heretics. He dismissed the Venetian ambassador with orders to inform the senate, that if they should persist in affording succour to the duke of Mantua, he would cover the Adriatic with Turkish pirates. But while he thus studied to work on the fears of his adversaries, he neglected not to use any means by which he might conciliate their favour. He offered to deposite in the hands of the Spaniards his rights to Montferrat, and the places he possessed in that province, on condition that the princess Mary should be brought to Milan, and remain there along with her mother: a proposition by which he intended at once to shew his own deference to the king of Spain, and to sow the seeds of jealousy between that monarch and the duke of Mantua. Nor was his design disappointed; for to the measure which he had proposed the governor of Milan cordially agreed. But Ferdinand utterly rejected it, with bitter complaints against Inoiosa, who presumed, without his knowledge, to dispose of the blood of Gonzaga.

CHARLES EMANUEL, having thus thrown the blame of disobedience to the will of Spain on Ferdinand, endeavoured to improve the advantage he had gained by sending Victor Amadeus to represent to the court of Madrid, how

how much the duke, his father, inclined to do what should be agreeable to their desire. Of this, he said, he had given a signal proof, by committing into their hands the heir of his dominions as a pledge of the obedience of his whole house.

On the strength of all this merit with the court of Spain, the duke having hastily thrown a garrison of four hundred men into Pontestura, under the colours of Spain, marched onward with his army to Nizza de la Paglia, and began to batter it from three different places. This town, which was but weakly fortified, was, however, effectually defended by the fidelity and valour of its governor, Manfrino Castiglione, who, by rigorous discipline, and by frequent sallies, gained time for its relief.

The governor of Milan checks the ambition of the duke of Savoy.

The governor of Milan, who had by this time reinforced his army, roused by a general clamour, and constrained by the orders of Spain, resolved effectually to curb the troublesome ambition of his friend, the duke of Savoy. He sent the prince of Ascoli with five thousand men to join the prince Vincenzo, who waited their arrival with three thousand more in the service of the duke of Mantua. The slowness of Ascoli's march seemed to indicate an

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intention to hearken to a proposition that had been made for a suspension of arms; but the Mantuans urging him to advance without delay, the united army at last approached to Nice. The Savoyards no longer doubting the intention of Inoiosa to raise the siege, on pretence of respect to the ensigns of Spain, retreated in good order without being pursued. The duke of Savoy now offered to surrender all that he possessed in Montferrat, and peace was made on this condition. But this pacification did not remove the apprehensions of the princes of Italy; for the duke of Savoy had uniformly contended for an act of oblivion in favour of count St. George, and other subjects of Mantua, who had taken up arms to support his claim to Montferrat; and the duke of Mantua, on the other hand, had as constantly insisted on their punishment, and also on reparation of damages.

THESE mutual pretensions appeared to the sagacity of the Italian states the embers of a war, ready to flame out with increased fury. There was evidently a collusion, they thought, between Charles Emanuel and the marquis of Inoiosa, some secret design which would soon transpire; for though the duke evacuated the towns he had taken, he did not dismiss, but, on the contrary, reinforced his troops; and the

the governor, though he seemed to have accomplished the design of his military preparations, remained still in arms. Their conjectures were not without foundation; for Ferdinand would not pardon the partizans of a competitor for the sovereignty of any part of his dominions, and insisted still on reparation of damages. And Charles published to the whole world, in writing, as well as discourse, that the governor promised to him that no farther mention should be made of damages, and that the exiles of Montferrat should be restored to their estates, and all the privileges of other subjects; a condition from which he was never determined to depart.

In this contest the marquis of Inoiosa took a decided part in favour of Savoy, and in the most haughty strain threatened Ferdinand with all the rage of war, if he should refuse to agree to the terms which he had prescribed. He instantly dispatched Antonio Pimentelli, general of the Milanese light-horse, to bring the young princess from Mantua to Milan. This Pimentelli would have done, even by force, if, having been conducted into the apartments of the child, he had not been convinced, that, from illness, she was not in a condition in which she could be removed. Upon this the duke of Mantua sent an envoy

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to Madrid with his excuse for not giving up the princess, and another to France to solicit the good offices of the queen regent with the Spanish monarch, which she readily granted.

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The award of Spain respecting the dispute concerning Montferrat.

The ministers of Spain at last declared the will of Philip to be, "That the differences between the dukes of Savoy and Mantua concerning reparation of damages, and the pardon of the rebels, should be referred to the arbitration of the pope, the emperor, and himself; that the princess Mary should be brought to Milan; that the duchess Margaret should marry Ferdinand; and that both dukes should disarm their forces, those of the king being sufficient to execute whatever should be necessary for relieving the oppressed, and subduing the obstinate."

The marquis of Inoiosa, at the same time that he sent Pimentelli to Mantua, in order to preserve the appearance of impartiality, dispatched Sanchio del Luna, governor of the castle of Milan, to Turin, to signify to the duke of Savoy that he must lay down his arms. Charles was now sensible that his contest with Ferdinand had no other tendency than to reduce himself, as well as that prince, under the dominion of Spain: unwilling, therefore, to disband his army, the only pledge of his sovereign independency, he immediately applied himself

himself to frame excuses, and invent stratagems. He represented to the Spanish ministers at Milan, that in the province of Dauphiny there was an army, commanded by the mareschal Lesdiguieres, which waited only the queen-regent's orders to pour into Piedmont; it was, therefore, necessary for him to stand on his guard. Instead of disbanding, he insisted on leave to reinforce his army; and, as a pledge of his fidelity to the king, and his disposition towards peace, he desired that some Spanish regiments might be quartered in Piedmont. This, he said, would be doing him an essential service; because his country being defended by the arms of Spain, he would be at liberty to march whithersoever the necessity of his affairs should call him. But the Spaniards were by this time too well acquainted with the artifices of Charles to fall easily into his snares. They perceived that it was his aim to excite the jealousy of France, and to produce a rupture between that kingdom and Spain. He doubted not, that if he could draw the Spanish troops into Piedmont, he would easily prevail on the mareschal Lesdiguieres to cross the Alps in order to expel them. Hostilities, once begun, would not cease with the retreat of the Spaniards into their own dominions; and, amidst the contentions of his enemies, he might find some means of

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ABOUT this time, the secretary Vargas in his return to Spain, passing by Turin, demanded of the duke a categorical answer to the question, whether he would disband his troops or no? Charles hesitated not a moment to shew his respect to the Catholic king, by answering in the affirmative. He immediately made a shew of disbanding his army in the presence of the Spanish minister; but he took care to keep on foot his foreign troops, having dismissed only his militia, which might be quickly re-assembled.

Effect of the award of Spain on the minds of the dukes of Savoy and Mantua.

THE determination of the Catholic king, and his peremptory tone respecting Montferrat, filled Ferdinand with resentment, and Charles with indignation. Nevertheless, Ferdinand declared, that he was willing to accept all the other terms prescribed by the court of Madrid, provided they would not insist that the young princess should be carried from Mantua to Milan; a condition to which they agreed without difficulty. But Charles Emanuel, to all the foreign ministers residing at his court, poured forth the bitterest invectives against the pride of Spain, which he represented as a just ground of general apprehension. "If the Spanish monarch,

narch, said he, shall be suffered to impose his imperious commands upon me, the princes of Italy, deluded by treaties, or subdued by arms, will thenceforth lie at his feet, fearing punishment, and asking pardon. If the present juncture shall prove the servility of our dispositions, we shall quickly be stripped of the shadow of that power of which we wanted wisdom to preserve the reality."

Reception of the prince of Piedmont at the court of Madrid.

THE indignation of the duke was still more inflamed, when the prince of Piedmont gave him an account of his treatment at Madrid. He had no sooner arrived in Catalonia, than he received an order to remain in that province, until it should be known whether his father would yield obedience to the order of the king; and, if he was at last received at court, it was with coldness and with scorn. The prime minister spoke of the duke of Savoy with disdain and with hatred, and threatened the severest chastisement if he should not submit, without reserve, to the authority of his Catholic majesty.

Courageous resolution of Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy.

THIS narrative of his son fixed the resolution of Charles. He instantly declared his firm purpose to maintain his independence with his sword, or to perish in the attempt. Accordingly he levies fresh troops, and exerts every nerve

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nerve again to form a confederacy against that imperious race, whose incurable ambition still aimed at the sovereignty of Europe*. He still kept up a close correspondence with the prince of Condé and the discontented lords of France, hoping to find employment for the arms of Philip in supporting the authority of Mary de Medicis. And in spite of the positive orders of the queen-regent, Lesdiguieres found means to pass several thousands of French soldiers from Dauphiny into Piedmont, who greatly reinforced the Savoyard army†.

CHARLES also insinuated himself on this occasion, into the confidence of Maurice, prince of Orange, and engaged in his service some troops under count John of Nassau. But, what encouraged him most, was the hope of assistance from the republic of Venice, which, he doubted not, would readily unite their arms with his for the purpose of removing from their confines, or at least of humbling the power of an imperious neighbour. He therefore dispatched to Venice John James Piscini, a man of distinguished abilities and powerful

* Mercure François, 1614. Siri Memor. recon. tom. iii. p. 222. Memoires de la Regence de Marie de Medicis. Batt. Nani, lib. i. 1614.

† Histoire du Connetable de Lesdiguieres, lib. viii.

eloquence,

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eloquence, to propose to the senate a league, defensive and offensive, for the preservation, or rather the recovery of the liberties of Italy. Piscini painted in glowing colours, the dependent condition of the Italian princes, and the immoderate ambition of the court of Spain. He offered to refer to their arbitration the difference between the houses of Savoy and Gonzaga; implored their aid and their advice; declaring, at the same time, that whatever counsels other states should follow, the duke of Savoy was determined to die with his sword in his hand, rather than to live in subjection to the tyranny of any power on earth.

THE Venetians admired the noble spirit of the duke, and found the highest satisfaction in reflecting, that the natural guardian of Italy*, possessed all that courage and foresight which that important character required. Nevertheless, being unwilling to involve themselves in war, while there was a ray of hope that the liberty of Italy might be united with its peace, they declined to interfere in the dispute concerning Montferrat, as that matter, they said, had already been referred to the arbitra-

* "Al cui Seno, al cui Petto, alla cui Destra
Commise il Ciel la Cura
Delle Italiche Mura."

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tion of the emperor and the king of Spain. They advised Charles to accommodate all differences with the duke of Mantua, and to yield to the superior power of Spain, whatever satisfaction might not be unbecoming the dignity of a sovereign prince. At the same time they assured him of their affection and good offices, and that they would not remain idle spectators of injustice and oppression.

The duke of Savoy favoured by the Venetian senate.

FAITHFUL to their promise, the Venetian senate exerted their influence in all the courts of Europe in favour of the duke of Savoy. To the Spanish ministers, particularly, both at Madrid and Milan, they represented the calamities and the dangers of war, and expatiated on the advantages of concord and peace. But the deep wound which the boldness of the duke of Savoy had given to the pride of Spain, was fomented by lenitives, and to be cured only by the sharp remedies of fire and sword. The Spaniards provoked, not pacified by the intercession of the Venetians in behalf of Charles Emanuel, proudly rejected every condition that might wear the complexion of treating that prince on a footing of equality, or even of honouring him with a capitulation.

INOIOSA, although his own inclinations were wholly towards peace, in obedience to the positive

positive and reiterated commands of the court of Madrid, sent an ambassador to Turin with orders to Charles to lay down his arms; to require a promise, in writing, that he would not molest the territories of the duke of Mantua; and to inform the duke, at the same time, that the king of Spain would not be bound by any conditions but such as should be dictated by his own moderation. The duke of Savoy listened to this message with a serene countenance, and without making any reply; but he ordered the ambassador instantly to leave his dominions; and tearing from his neck the ensign of the Golden Fleece, he returned it into the hands of that minister, desiring him to deliver it to the king, and to tell him that he scorned to wear a badge of honour conferred by a prince who threatened him with chains. The duke hastened to Asti to collect his forces*.

The governor of Milan takes the field against the duke of Savoy.

Inoiosa, whose army, lately reinforced with troops from Spain, consisted of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, crossed the Sesia, and took up his quarters at Caresana, not far from Vercelli, in the hope that Charles would humble himself before so great a military force, and yield to the renown of the

* Mercure Françoise, 1614. Bat. Nan. lib. i. 1614.

Spanish

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Spanish arms. But the duke, with an army in numbers greatly inferior to that of Indiosa, passing over to the other side of the Sesia, let loose on the Milanese all the rage of war; and, having surprised and burned several towns and villages, returned within his own confines with prisoners, plunder, and troops inspirited by success. The Spaniards, seeing the Milanese thus invaded, and knowing that it was naked and exposed to the frequent attacks of their vigilant and enterprising enemy, having set fire to Caresana and La Motta, abandoned their posts in Piedmont, and retired within their own territories.

The governor of Milan, in order to make up, in some measure, the loss and disadvantage he had suffered in this contest with the duke of Savoy, encamped near Vercelli to cover the building of a fortress within the Spanish bounds, but so advantageously situated as to protect the Milanese, by shutting up a passage through which it was open to hostile invasion, and at the same time, to curb the power of the Savoyards in the adjacent quarter of Piedmont. This fortress was a mile in circuit, and, in honour of the duke of Lerma, called Fort Sandoval. The Spaniards had long meditated this design, but hitherto deferred its execution, being unwilling to excite any jealousies

lousies in the princes and states of Italy. In this undertaking several weeks were spent; mean while the season elapsed that was fittest for action.

WHEN the news of the ravages committed by the duke of Savoy in the Milanese reached Madrid, the Spanish ministers were astonished at his boldness, and being unaccustomed to resistance in Italy, were inflamed with the highest degree of resentment. They vowed his destruction, execrated his name, and reproaching the governor of Milan with ignorance, or want of spirit, excited him to revenge the dishonour that had been done to the territories of Spain, and to the royal standard. The resentment of Spain was farther vented in a manifesto, devolving to king Philip all the estates of Charles Emanuel which were fiefs of Milan; and the imperial ambassador* denounced against Charles the ban of the empire, if he should not instantly disband his army†.

The rage of the Spaniards against the duke of Savoy.

AGAINST those attacks of the pen, Charles Emanuel defended himself with the same weapon. That none of his estates were fiefs of Milan, he proved from the records of history.

* At Milan. † Batt. Nan. Hist. lib. i. 1614.

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To his imperial majesty he wrote a respectful letter, giving an elaborate and circumstantial detail of the reasons he had to be dissatisfied with the conduct of Spain, of the ravages of the Spanish troops, and the necessity he was under of keeping up a force to oppose them. In conclusion, he intreated the emperor to revoke the interdict he had issued against him; and farther, that he would employ his influence with the king of Spain, in order to engage him to disband his troops*. The other Spanish ministers in Italy, perceiving that the lofty spirit of Charles Emanuel was still unbroken, complained of the remissness of Inoiosa, and expressed to that commander a suspicion that the Spanish arms had lost their character of invincible†. In order to retrieve their reputation, they sent a powerful naval force, part of a fleet which had been fitted out to watch the motions of the Turks, to make a descent on the coasts of Piedmont.

Oneglia taken by the Spaniards.

THE marquis de Croix, who commanded this armament, finding that he had not a force sufficient to take Nice, turned his arms

* Histoire du Regne de Louis XIII. Roy du France, et des principaux Evenemens arrivez pendant ce Reigne dans tous les Pais du Monde. Merc. François.

† Batt. Nan. lib. i. 1614.

against

against Oneglia, a maritime town of Savoy, environed by the confines of Genoa, except where it is separated from Piedmont by the Appenine mountains. Disembarking his troops on the territories of the Genoese, he placed within their bounds his battering cannon, which played upon Oneglia with success. To this place Charles Emanuel could not send any succours, without the consent of Genoa, which was refused. This act of hostility he revenged by reducing Zuccarello, a fief of the empire, under the protection of that republic. Oneglia was defended five days, by the valour of the marquis of Dogliani. Having surrendered this town on honourable terms, this commander brought a part of the garrison into Maro, a castle situated on a rock, a little more inland, and which commands some vallies full of villages. This fortress was also soon after reduced by the Spanish forces, increased to the number of five thousand, by the arrival of several gallies from Sicily.

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The governor of Milan, urged by the reproaches and importunities of his countrymen, in order to support this naval expedition, put his army in motion, though weakened by sickness, and afflicted in their march by those excessive rains which at that season overflowed all the country. Having crossed the

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river Tanarus, not without a gallant opposition from the duke of Savoy, he found himself in a situation full of embarrassment: for the advanced season did not admit of the siege of Asti, and to canton his troops in the open country, would expose them a prey to the vigilance and rapid movements of Charles Emanuel. He, therefore, judged it prudent to retire to the country about Alexandria.

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Treaty of peace between the Spaniards and duke of Savoy.

In the spring following, the hostile armies were reinforced, and on both sides great preparations made for war. But in the city of Asti, and presence of Charles Emanuel, a treaty was framed by Julius Savelli, nuncio at Milan, and the marquis of Rambouillet, ambassador extraordinary in Italy from France, the chief articles of which were, that the duke of Savoy should disband his troops, keeping on foot only his usual garrisons; that within fifteen or twenty days after, Inoiosa should also disband his army, and give his word to the pope and the king of France, that he would not commit any act of hostility against the duke of Savoy; that the prisoners and places taken on either side should be mutually restored; that the jewels and dowry of Margaret should be returned; and that an act of indemnity and oblivion should be passed in favour of such subjects of Montferrat, as had taken

taken up arms in opposition to the duke of Mantua. These conditions were not altogether satisfactory to Charles Emanuel; nevertheless, having in vain endeavoured to rouse other powers to arms against Spain, and being desirous of conciliating the favour of the pope and France, who offered to guarantee the treaty they proposed, he declared his readiness to accept them. It is alledged by some writers, that this prince would not have agreed to this treaty, while he had no other enemy to contend with than Inoiosa, if he had not imagined that it would be rejected by the Spanish ministers. If this was his conjecture, he was not deceived; for when Rambouillet and Savelli presented it to the governor of Milan, in full confidence that he would sign it, he told them that he was deprived of all power of making peace with the duke of Savoy, by a late order from Madrid.

War in Germany.

THE resolution of the Spaniards to maintain the predominancy of their power over the princes of Italy was heightened and confirmed by the success of their arms in Germany.

Lewis XIII. the young king of France, called only the elector of Brandenburgh and the count palatine of Newburgh, to fulfil the engagement which his illustrious father had

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come under, respecting the succession of Cleves and Juliers, gave orders to the Marechal de Châtres to march an army of 10,000 infantry, and 2000 cavalry, with a train of artillery for that purpose. While the French army was on its march, prince Maurice, apprized of this movement, agreeably to what had been concerted with Henry, had taken the field for the same end, with 8000 foot, 3000 cavalry, and all necessary stores and provisions. The city of Juliers was invested by the prince on the 28th of July, 1610. The citadel, situated on a rock rising on the side of a morass, and fortified by four bastions, was defended by 2500 men. Two of the bastions, with some other works had been taken, and batteries were ready to open on the body of the place, when the French joined the assailants. The Marêchal de Châtres put himself under the command of prince Maurice. Forty pieces of cannon played on the citadel, night and day, without intermission. The governor, seeing resistance to be in vain, and having no expectation of relief, capitulated on the 1st of September. Juliers, with all its dependencies, submitted to the sovereigns of Brandenburgh and Newburgh, known at that time by the title of the princes in possession. These princes lived upwards of two years in the same castle, and governed

governed the states of Cleves and Juliers by their joint authority. But having quarrelled at last, as might have been expected, they broke through the agreement that every thing should be done in concert, and issued edicts, not conjointly, but separately. Their mutual friends, in order to heal this rupture, advised them to cement a friendship by marriage*. But this advice widened the difference it was designed to compose. For the prince of Neuburgh having, in consequence of this counsel, gone to demand the daughter of Brandenburgh in marriage, at a feast, when his blood was warm, and his spirits high with wine, let fall some expressions, which so exasperated the elector that he gave him a box on the ear. This effectually cured the young suitor's passion for his daughter. Henceforth the princes in possession became avowed enemies, and thought of nothing but fortifying themselves against each other by strong holds, troops, and allies. The count Palatine, by various acts of obedience, courted the favour of the emperor; and, in order to conciliate that of the Catholic league, the prince of Neuburgh married the sister of the duke of Bavaria and the elector of Cologne. The

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* Interests des Princes par Monsieur de Rohan, partie i. disc. iv.

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marquis of Brandenburgh, on the other hand, called to his aid the military power of the states of the United Provinces. It is probable, that when this infant republic consented to employ its arms in defence of Brandenburgh, it apprehended not any opposition from those of Spain. That monarchy, about five years before, had betrayed its inability to prosecute war, by its eagerness for peace. Since that time, it had exhibited a striking token of improvidence and langour, when it beheld without concern, at least without any exertion, the mighty preparations of Henry the Great; and the duke of Savoy had insulted it in Italy, as yet with impunity. Prince Maurice, therefore, without any apprehension of resistance from the Spaniards, on pretence of carrying relief to the marquis of Brandenburgh, prepared to extend the boundaries of the United Provinces by new conquests in the duchies of Cleves and Juliers. Having gained the governor of the castle of Juliers, he poured into that fortress a strong Dutch garrison, without opposition. He afterwards came to fort Schenck with an army of eighteen thousand men; and penetrating into Germany, took Emmerick on the Rhine, where he placed a garrison, and many other places in the duchy of Cleves, and the county of la Marck.

Ambition of the United States.

THE

THE accession of the states of Cleves and Juliers, to those of the United Provinces, would, in the issue, have extended the dominion of that republic over all the Austrian Netherlands, had not the rapidity of prince Maurice's conquests received a check from the judicious and rapid movements of the marquis of Spinola. This penetrating genius, who had strenuously supported the pacific counsels of prince Albert at the court of Madrid, now perceived the necessity of having recourse to arms. He convinced the archduke Albert, and also the ministers of Spain, that the present was the proper time to oppose the views of that youthful state, whose successful struggle with the power of Spain had inspired ideas of ambition and new conquests. It was better, he said, at this juncture, to commit their cause to the fortune of war, and to contend for what remained of their sovereignty in arms, than to remain inactive until the power of the revolted Provinces, in the Low Countries, should be irresistible. On pretence of restoring the supremacy of the emperor and the pope over the Protestants of Aix la Chapelle, who had deposed the Catholic magistrates of that city, and banished the Jesuits and Romish priests, Spinola assembled an army of thirty thousand men, and provided a great train of artillery. By secrecy and celerity he surprised Aix la Chapelle,

Prince Maurice opposed by the marquis of Spinola.

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Chapelle, where he re-established the papal jurisdiction and imperial power. Thence he bent his course to the north-east, and by this movement seemed to indicate an intention of laying siege to Juliers. But wheeling suddenly about, he crosses the Rhine two leagues below Cologne, and joining the troops of Neuburgh, enters Molsheim, falls down the Rhine, reduces Orsoy, and proceeds onward to Wesel, which he invests with part of his forces. The inhabitants of this place, by a constant and heavy fire, repulsed the assailants with great slaughter. But Spinola, having brought up his whole army, formed his intrenchments with so much judgment, that his troops, covered from the fire of the enemy, made their approaches with celerity and with safety. And, having planted three batteries of eight cannons, he kept up so hot a fire, that within less than two hours, one of the city gates, and all that could oppose an entrance by that way, was reduced to ashes. The besieged, understanding that prince Maurice and the marquis of Brandenburgh were coming to their relief, determined to make a vigorous resistance. But the women mounting the walls with their children in their arms, with tears and cries entreated them to surrender. The men, melted by the suppliant voices of their wives and

Siege of Wesel.

scream-

screaming infants, sent deputies to Spinola, to ask a favourable capitulation. This was readily granted: it was stipulated on the one side, that no change should be introduced in the religion or government of the city; that the military officers of Brandenburgh should march out of the city with their baggage, arms, and warlike stores; and that the citizens should have liberty to retire and settle wherever they pleased. On the other hand, Spinola only demanded that he should be allowed to introduce into Wesel a garrison of a thousand men, there to remain until the Dutch garrison should be withdrawn from Juliers. As soon as he entered this place he began to strengthen its fortifications, and by all means to secure its possession. He built three hundred barracks near the walls, and obliged the inhabitants to furnish beds and other necessary furniture. He also increased the garrison of Wesel with two thousand foot, and three hundred horse, under the command of Velasco. The inhabitants in a strong remonstrance represented to Spinola, that, according to the terms of capitulation, he was to introduce a garrison of one thousand men. Spinola sternly replied, that it was indeed agreed, that he should bring into Wesel one thousand men; but that he had never promised that he would, at no time, increase

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crease their number*. Having obliged the inhabitants of Duysburg, a city between Wesel and Dusseldorp, to admit a strong garrison, he passed the Rhine, and approached so near the camp of Maurice, that the centinels of the opposite armies frequently conversed, and sometimes drank together. The prince of Orange sent a messenger to Spinola, to know in what prince's name he entered the states of Cleves and Juliers. Spinola answered, by putting a similar question to the prince.

THESE illustrious antagonists lay near to one another for a considerable time; but neither found an opportunity of attacking the other with advantage. And, without breaking the truce, or incurring the usual calamities of war, they had fallen on a very convenient method of making conquests, by a kind of tacit compact, to divide between them the states they pretended to protect. The United Provinces, alarmed at the success, and apprehensive of the future enterprizes of Spinola, at last engaged France, England, and certain Protestant princes in Germany to mediate a

Convenient method of making conquest.

* Interests des Princes par M. de Rohan. partie ii. discours. v. Histoire du Regne de Louis XIII. et des principaux Evenemens, &c.

recon-

reconciliation between the princes in possession. A conference was held for this purpose at Santhen, a town which in this quarrel had remained neutral, but without effect. The articles of agreement proposed by the mediators of peace, though they would in all probability have been accepted by Brandenburgh and Neuburgh, were only a subject of cavil to both Maurice and Spinola, who sought not to compose the differences of these princes, but to fix themselves in the places they had taken. Thus ends this singular campaign, which is not distinguished by bloody battles and splendid victories; but whose origin and issue convey important political instruction. For thence it appears that concessions to a hostile people naturally invite them to repeat their attacks; that the only proper time for a nation to make peace, is when the enemy desires it; and that no state can admit within its bounds the arms of a superior power, without endangering its own independence.

1615. The success of the Spaniards in Germany inflames their resentment and ambition.

A LITTLE good fortune is sufficient to revive the projects of mortified ambition. The court of Madrid, elated by the successful career of Spinola in Germany, felt their resentment more and more inflamed against that daring prince, who first exposed the Spanish weakness in Italy; and not less against his feeble oppo-

nent

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nent the marquis of Inoiosa. A letter was intercepted from the king of Spain to the governor of Milan, in which he upbraided him with the remissness of his former conduct, and gave orders from that instant to make an irruption into Piedmont, before the duke of Savoy, or any others of the enemies of the monarchy, could collect their forces, dispersed in winter quarters, to oppose him. The governor, who had received repeated orders to the same purpose, as soon as the season of action arrived, took the field at the head of an army of thirty thousand men. To this formidable body of veteran Spaniards the duke of Savoy opposed an army of seventeen thousand men, French, Swiss, and Savoyards, and those noble efforts of courage and conduct with which he was wont to encounter danger, and to raise himself above misfortune. The contest which ensued proved how much the success of an army depends on the genius of one man; and how vain are the greatest military preparations, if they are committed to the conduct of an unskilful commander.

Duke of Savoy takes the field against the governor of Milan.

THE first movements of the Spaniards, in the present campaign, indicated an intention of surprising Cortemiglia, the possession of which would lay open to their incursions the states of

of Piedmont on the side of Asti, Seve, and Canelli. Into this place, therefore, Charles Emanuel immediately throws three regiments of French, and eight hundred Swiss, under the command of the count of St. George. The duke himself, hastening from Turin with seven thousand men, comes up with the marquis of Mantua, in his route to Cortemiglia, at the head of five or six thousand, at Bistagno, a fortress of Montferrat, situated upon a height, commanding a highway from the sea to the confines of Milan. The thick and solid walls of Bistagno, and the frequent and bold sallies of the garrison, rendered all the efforts of the duke of Savoy to reduce it under his power fruitless. In the hurry of his march he had not been able to bring up to this place more than two small cannon. He attempted therefore to scale the walls, and attack the garrison sword in hand. He was persevering in this desperate and mad attempt, when he was informed that Inoiosa was on his march for the relief of Bistagno, at the head of a powerful army. He therefore immediately raised the siege, retreated in good order to Canelli *, and thence to Asti, having perceived that the Spaniards bent their course to this place. Asti, before the arrival of the duke, was garrisoned

* Hist. du Regne Louis XIII.

with

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with four thousand foot, and a considerable number of cavalry, under the command of prince Thomas. Here the whole forces of Charles Emanuel were now collected; and the issue of the siege of Asti, was likely to decide the fate of the house of Savoy. But the city being of large extent, and the walls in many places infirm, the duke determined to meet the enemy at the river Versa, on the banks of which Inoiosa appeared with an army of twenty-four thousand men. The rest of his forces he had thrown into St. Damiano and Ulpiano*, towns of Montferrat, the first not far from Asti, and the second on the verge of Turin. The duke of Savoy, with fifteen thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, opposed the passage of the Spaniards over the Versa in vain. And Inoiosa, having crossed this river with his whole army, endeavoured to gain the heights of an hilly tract, which stretched in a winding course to Asti. This station he hastened to occupy, that he might thence be enabled not only to cut off the duke's retreat to that city, but to drive him out of the adjacent plain. But Charles, having penetrated his design, immediately fell back to two posts in that strong ground, which he had already slightly fenced by small trenches.

* Batt. Nan. Hist. della Republica Veneta, lib. i. 1615.

These

These posts he committed to his French and Swiss troops, forming together about two-thirds of his army, with some pieces of cannon. The Savoyard infantry he reserved to act as necessity might require, and with the cavalry he flanked his two posts in a plain immediately below them. The firm order, and deliberate valour of the Spanish troops sustaining the furious attack of the Savoyard cavalry, and pressing up the hill which was occupied by the French, gained at last an eminence, the possession of which decided the contest. For two pieces of cannon played from thence on the enemy with so great effect, that they retreated with such confusion and trepidation to the second post, as struck a panic into the Swiss, and threw them also into a disorder, that was soon after followed by a precipitate flight. The duke of Savoy, on this important day, which seemed pregnant with the fortune of his house, appeared resolute to maintain his sovereign power, or at least to prove that he deserved it. Performing the duty both of an able commander and gallant soldier, he directed the flight, brought relief to the oppressed, animated the weary, rallied the faint-hearted, and poured on those that fled the bitterest reproaches. But the terror that had seized multitudes being more contagious than the courage of one individual, though a general and sovereign prince,

1615. Engagement between the duke of Savoy and the Spaniards under the marquis of Spinola.

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every effort of Charles to withstand the steady valour of the Spaniards was ineffectual. At last, yielding to adverse fortune, but not despairing of better, by the most extraordinary exertions of courage and of art, he carried off from the scene of action five field-pieces, and part of that baggage which had been left by the Swiss.

NOTHING was now wanting to make Italy tremble, but either the duke of Savoy at the head of the Spanish army; or the Spanish army under the colours of the duke of Savoy. The governor of Milan knew indeed how to fight; but not how to direct a campaign, or to improve a victory. He suffered the enemy to march unmolested to Asti. And, instead of laying siege to that city, fortified himself against the attacks of his antagonist, by the most extensive lines of circumvallation, and every possible method of defence. The distant and ineffectual bombardments of Inoiosa, the skirmishes which followed between the Savoyards and Spaniards, and the desperate but unsuccessful assault that was made by the former on the camp of the latter, might demand a particular description, were it necessary farther to illustrate the courage which was exhibited this campaign by the duke of Savoy, or that incapacity which disgraced the conduct

conduct of the governor of Milan. The Spanish troops lay for six weeks in the open air, on the hills near Asti; and the excessive heat, the unripe fruits, and the impurities of the camp, producing diseases, there ensued a great mortality both of men and cattle. Although the army had been reinforced with the troops left at Sandoval, and others that arrived by sea, it was not half so strong as when it sat down before Asti. Charles, on the other hand, though he enjoyed more commodious quarters, experienced such frequent mutinies among his foreign troops, that it was difficult for him to determine whether they were of greater service or disadvantage. Thus both parties were in situations which inclined them to hearken to terms of peace. A capitulation was drawn up by the marquis of Rambouillet, and effectually recommended to the acceptance of the governor and the duke, by the Venetian and the English ambassadors. This was not materially different from the treaty which had been framed by the pope's nuncio and the French ambassador, in the name of their respective courts, towards the end of the preceding year, in the city of Asti. Only, it gave greater security to the duke against the attacks of Spain. For it was guaranteed by the republic of Venice; and, in case of its being violated by the Spaniards,

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a power was consigned to the duke of Savoy, of summoning to his assistance, in the name of the king of France, the mareschal Lesdiguieres, and all the governors of provinces bordering on his dominions. The French ambassador thinking he had now accomplished the object of his embassy, returned to Paris. But no sooner had he left Piedmont than Ferdinand, whose thirst of vengeance was in proportion to the narrowness of his capacity, began to let loose all the fury of his resentment on his revolted subjects. And Charles, on the other hand, only made a shew of disbanding his troops *, being justly apprehensive that the late agreement between him and the governor of Milan would be disavowed by the court of Madrid. The treaty of Asti was equally violated on both sides.

1616. Inoiosa superceded in the government of Milan by the marquis of Villa Francha.

WHEN the court of Madrid was informed that Inoiosa had concluded a disgraceful war by a dishonourable peace, they were moved with great indignation. But the man whose

* He very formally disbanded his French troops, but took care that they should be all of them incorporated into his Savoyard companies. As to the Swiss they could not be discharged without payment, concerning which there arose innumerable delays and difficulties.

wrath

wrath on this occasion blazed forth with the greatest fury, was Don Pedro de Toledo, marquis of Villa Franca, distinguished even in Spain by an haughty boldness, and a zeal for the glory of the monarchy. His temper was vehement, yet his understanding was at once subtle and solid, and his courage both exalted and constant. Such a character would have appeared a fit instrument for inflicting the vengeance of Spain on the duke of Savoy; although he had not been allied by blood to the house of Mantua. This man, therefore, was chosen by Philip to succeed the marquis of Inoiosa in the government of Milan, and the consenting voice of the Spanish nation applauded his choice*.

* A famous Italian historian, (Batt. Nani), and others in deference to his authority, suppose that Inoiosa would have been recalled sooner, had not the duke of Lerma been afraid, by too great military successes in Italy, to defeat the project of the double marriages, which were not consummated, (as has already been observed), till the end of the year 1615. But when we reflect on the great military force committed to Inoiosa, which was nearly double that of Charles: on the repeated orders he received from his court to act with expedition and with vigour; and of the attempts he made in consequence of these orders; that conjecture appears rather refined than solid. The regency of France wished for the final accomplishment of the double marriages as ardently as the court of Spain; and if they had

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THE duke of Savoy dissembling his suspicions of the hostile designs of Spain, sent a gentleman of his bed-chamber with two letters to Toledo, in one of which he congratulated him, according to the custom of Italian princes, on his safe arrival at Milan, and in the other he described, in a pleasing manner, the mutual advantages of faithfully fulfilling the treaty of Asti. To the first of these letters the governor, with becoming politeness, replied, by returning his most humble thanks to the duke for the honour he had done him, and declaring that he would not fail to acquaint the court of Madrid with the respect and affection his highness had expressed for the Catholic king. To the other he answered, "that the true way to regain the favour of Philip, and to preserve lasting concord, was, not to think any longer on what was intended to be done, when both parties had their swords in their hands*." This answer,

been averse to that measure, an unsuccessful struggle on the part of Spain with the duke of Savoy would not have been the means of reconciling them to it. The appointment of the marquis of Villa Franca, at this time, to the government of Milan seems to have been the natural result of the feelings of the Spanish ministry, on an occasion that wounded their pride, and excited their resentment.

* Siri Mem. recond. tom. iii. p. 409, 410.

had

had it needed any comment, would have been sufficiently explained by the governor's common discourse, and still more by his actions. It was his common talk that the peace of Asti was a mere collusion between his predecessor and the duke of Savoy, and that a powerful king could not be tied down to the observance of a treaty with an inferior prince, by any other bands than those of his own moderation. In the mean time he did not leave Charles in any uncertainty concerning what he had to expect from his Catholic majesty's moderation; for he every day made new levies, and reinforced his army with a great number of Swiss, Germans, and Italians.

THE menaces of Don Pedro did not escape from that wary politician through any intemperance of discourse. They were intended to bend the lofty spirit of Charles to an humble submission to the crown of Spain, and to prepare his mind to catch at the bait by which he hoped to govern his ambition. He insinuated to his envoy at Milan, that if the duke his master would ask pardon of Philip, and submit his pretensions wholly to his arbitration, that monarch would add to the dominions of Savoy the city of Geneva. But Charles Emanuel was not unacquainted with the artifices of the Spanish court. It was but lately that they had attempted to incite the

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prince of Piedmont to rise in rebellion against his father, and that Toledo himself had entered into a treaty with the governor of Zuccarello, to deliver that place into the hands of the Spaniards. The duke, provoked equally at the pride and the insidious policy of Spain, rejected with indignation the offer of Toledo, and prepared to maintain his independency and honour by force of arms. He represented to the guarantees of the treaty of Asti the conduct and the designs of Toledo, and immediately summoned to his aid the mareschal Lesdiguieres, in virtue of that authority, with which, for this purpose, he had been invested by the king of France. Toledo, on the other hand, inveighed against the obstinacy of the duke, and solicited Lewis to compel him to disband his troops, and to deliver the places and prisoners he had taken, into the hands of the king of Spain, promising that this monarch should afterwards take every step, not inconsistent with the dignity of his crown, to remove all jealousy of his arms. Lewis had already sent the count de Bethune, a man of capacity and singular address, into Italy, in order to accommodate those differences which disturbed the repose of that country. He now sends the mareschal Lesdiguieres to join his influence to that of Bethune, hoping that Toledo would yield to the presence, and reputation, and power of the

The king of France resolves to maintain the treaty of Asti.

the mareschal, what he might otherwise find means to evade. Lesdiguieres without delay went to Turin, where, in conjunction with Bethune, he framed a treaty of accommodation, which being proposed to the consideration of the governor and the duke, both parties agreed to a cessation of arms. The mareschal having assured the duke of Savoy of his warmest support, if it should be found necessary, departed from Turin, and returned to Dauphiny *.

Intrigues of Spaniards at the court of France.

MEAN while the duke of Monteleon, the Spanish ambassador in France, assured the court of Paris, that the views of Philip in Italy were not those of ambition, but of justice and peace. And this assurance being accompanied by arguments that spoke directly home to the wants of some courtiers, and the avarice of others, effectually changed those resolutions which had been taken in favour of Charles Emanuel. The strictest orders were issued that no troops should be levied in France, without the express commission of the king. The design of these orders was, either to oblige the duke of Savoy to give his consent to an accommodation, on terms dictated by Spain, or to render him

* Hist. du Connet. de Lesdiguieres.

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unable to carry on a war with that nation, should he refuse it.

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But the duke found firmer support in the wisdom and fortitude of the Venetian senate than was to be expected from the feeble and fluctuating counsels of France. That republic levied for his service a considerable body of French troops, and contributed besides, a supply of seventy-two thousand ducats a month, for the purpose of maintaining his army in Piedmont. The orders of the young king of France were in vain opposed to the gold of Venice, the authority of Lesdiguieres, the duke of Mayenne, and other chiefs who encouraged all soldiers of fortune to cross the mountains, and to join the standard of the duke of Savoy. But above all, Charles was encouraged by the prospect of the duke of Nemours pouring down into the plains of Milan, from the mountains of Savoy, at the head of an army of six thousand men. He was ignorant that the military preparations of this duke, was that which chiefly nourished the hope of victory in the breast of Toledo.

The duke of Nemours joins the Spaniards against the duke of Savoy.

Henry, duke of Nemours, chief of a branch of the house of Savoy established in France, had been amused by Charles Emanuel with the

the hope of marrying a princess of his family, for not a less space of time than six or seven years. The disappointment made a deep impression on his mind, and filled him with resentment. Don Pedro, having learnt these circumstances, conceived the project of fixing Nemours in the interests of Spain, by operating at once on his ambition, and that spirit of revenge which was then his domineering passion. He insinuated to his rankling mind, through the dukes of Guise and Monteleon, that on condition of his taking up arms on the side of Spain against his relation Charles Emanuel, the Spanish monarch would reward his services with the investure of the duchy of Savoy. The duke of Nemours did not hesitate to close with these terms. Counterfeiting an ardent desire to maintain the independency of that sovereign family whence he derived his origin, he raised a force of seven thousand men*, which he was about to lead into the heart of Savoy, while Toledo with a powerful army was ready to penetrate into Piedmont. But Charles Emanuel, having discovered the designs of Nemours, instantly sent orders to the governor of Savoy to secure those places which had been destined for the reception of the troops of Nemours. And the prince of

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* Batt. Nani. lib. ii. anno 1616.

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Piedmont hastening to the northern passes of the Alps, seized the posts on the route which a body of troops was to take, that had been levied by the Spaniards in Franche Compté and Burgundy.

In the mean time the duke of Nemours had taken the field, and penetrated through lofty mountains, by rugged and difficult ways, into the valley of Sizeri. This small district yielded to the superiority of his power, without much resistance. He was preparing to improve the advantage he had gained, and to press forward upon the other territories of Savoy, when part of his troops deserted him, carrying along with them the greater part of both the provisions and the ammunition. The troops that remained, being few in number, and weakened exceedingly by hunger and thirst, served as pastime to the shepherds of the mountains, who harrassed and hunted them from one place to another. In this extremity the duke of Nemours implored the succour of Spain, that he might be enabled to save the remains of his army from inevitable ruin by crossing the Rhone; but the Spaniards were deaf to his prayers. They even refused to send him a supply of bread and ammunition, and debarred him from the liberty of lodging his troops in Franche Compté, a province

vince which in those days belonged to the crown of Spain. In this desperate situation he found relief in the generosity of Charles Emanuel. That magnanimous prince, at the intercession of Lesdiguieres, and other chiefs of France, pardoned his revolt, and, on the disbanding of his troops, restored him to the possession of his estates in Savoy*.

Operations of the new governor of Milan.

THE governor of Milan, in expectation that the irruption of the duke of Nemours into the dominions of Charles would distract his mind, and divert his arms, drew near with thirty thousand men to the frontiers of Piedmont. And, having thrown bridges over the Tanarus and the Sesia, and fortified and garrisoned them at either end, he waited for a favourable opportunity of entering that country, his headquarters being fixed at Candia and Villata. The duke of Savoy, on the other hand, lodged in Caresana and la Motta, in the province of Vercelli, with an army not exceeding twenty thousand. After various skirmishes with the troops of Savoy with various success, Toledo having separated his army into two divisions, ordered one of these to pass the Sesia at Gattinara, and to join the other, which he was to

* Mercure François, 1616. Hist. du Regne de Louis XIII.

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conduct himself, near Cresentino, a town on the Po, on the confines of the principality of Vercelli and Montferrat. It was Don Pedro's design, by this movement, to inclose his enemy by the Sesia with fortified bridges and fort Sandoval on the east, by the Po with Crescentino on the south, and by taking and garrisoning St. Germano, a fortress equidistant from both these rivers. Charles was now posted in Sigliano, a place environed with lakes and morasses, and accessible only by one narrow entrance. This station the duke had chosen, as being very convenient for the relief of Vercelli, the reduction of which seemed the object to which all the steps of his adversary ultimately tended. As soon as he perceived that Toledo directed his course to Crescentino, he mounted two thousand musqueteers behind an equal number of cavalry, and passing by the Spaniards with great speed, threw succours into that town sufficient for its protection. The Spanish general in revenge ravaged the villages of Piedmont, and Charles, from a like motive, those of Montferrat.

THE autumnal rains now overflowed the country on all sides, and the hostile armies lay for some days inactive, the Savoyards in Crescentino, the Spaniards in Livorno and Bianze, towns of Montferrat. The waters having

having subsided, Toledo, aided by the treachery or cowardice of the governor, made himself master of St. Germano, the possession of which was a considerable step towards the reduction of Vercelli. This important place was still his aim, though, in order to obtain it, he made a feint of marching to Crescentino. The duke constantly harrassed his troops in flank, that by interrupting the march of his enemy, he might be enabled himself to preoccupy the plain of Apertole, where he might make such arrangements as would put it in his power either to give battle, or to stand upon the defensive. The subtlety of the Spanish commander, on this occasion, practised a successful stratagem against the artful Charles Emanuel. Toledo made such a disposition of his troops as seemed to indicate an intention of obstructing the march of the Savoyards even at the expence of a battle. Upon this the duke brings forward the flower of his army into the van, expecting every moment to be attacked in front by the enemy. But the Spaniards, with ten thousand foot and some cavalry, suddenly made an attack on his rear, consisting of four thousand French infantry and some cavalry, when they were filing through a wood. The Savoyards, struck with surprise and terror, began

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gan to retreat in the greatest confusion; but the duke saved his dismayed forces, if not from the disgrace, yet from the slaughter that commonly pursues a flying enemy. He dispatched the intrepid count of St. George to check the pursuit of the victorious enemy, with a select band of five hundred musketeers. The brave resistance of the count, and the quick approach of night, enabled the French troops in the service of Savoy to retreat with safety to the main body of the army.

THE duke, whose sanguine temper contemplated the bright side of every object, comforted himself under this misfortune, by reflecting, that it would revive the ancient animosities between the Spaniards and the French, and that this last nation, enraged at their late discomfiture, would retrieve at once his loss and their own honour. With these sentiments he retired to Crescentino. The season was now far advanced; and Toledo, having in vain attempted to surprise Crescentino, and found that keeping the field served only to diminish the number and impair the health of his troops, abandoned the posts he possessed in Piedmont and Montferrat, having left garrisons only in Trino, St. Germano, and Gattinara. This last was a town which commanded a passage over the Sesia, and which had been

been reduced under the power of the Spaniards by Don Sancho del Luna, governor of the castle of Milan*.

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THE duke of Savoy, through excessive fatigue and agitation of mind, about this time contracted an illness, which, concurring with the rigour of the advancing season, seemed to promise on his part a respite from all hostilities. He could not take the field in person, and was even unable to walk abroad. In this irksome confinement the activity of his mind amused the tedious hours by forming various projects and stratagems of war. And, under his present infirmities, he felt a sensible consolation in the capacity, bravery, and filial affection of four illustrious sons, who were ready to execute with fidelity and alacrity whatever he should command them to perform. The duke of Nemours having been constrained to lay down his arms, the prince of Piedmont repassed the mountains by the valley of Aosta, and conducted his troops to Ivrea. Here he received orders to lead them against Gattinara, in which was a Spanish garrison of four thousand men. The prince did not hesitate to carry the orders of the duke his father into execu-

1617. Illness of the duke of Savoy.

Movements of the prince of Piedmont.

* Batt. Nani, lib. ii. 1616. Levassor. tom. iii. Merc. Franc. 1616.

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tion. But yielding to the remonstrances of his most experienced officers, he exchanged an enterprize which appeared to be impracticable, for another which might be accomplished without difficulty, and which was not of less importance.

THE principality of Masserano is bounded on the east by the river Sesia, and in every other quarter by the territories of the duke of Savoy; a circumstance which naturally placed it under the protection of Spain. Toledo, with a view to strengthen that chain by which he designed to invest and straiten Vercelli, had made an offer to the prince of Masserano to garrison his capital, and also the fortress of Crevalcor with Spanish forces. The prince, aware of the danger of such a measure, chose rather to undergo the hazard of an irruption from Piedmont than to resign the sinews of his power into the hands of Toledo. He returned the governor thanks for his proffered aid, but expressed a hope that it would not be necessary. Toledo had in the mean time marched his troops to the banks of the Sesia, and seemed ready to pour into the territories of Masserano. In this situation of affairs the prince of Piedmont, by a concealed and forced march, surprised and invested the capital of that small state, which opened its gates without

out resistance. He now marched against Crevalcor, with eight thousand foot and four hundred horse. He appeared before the walls of that place on the 27th of January, and having seized all the avenues by which it might receive relief, he soon made a breach in the walls, and took the town by assault. The terrified inhabitants fled before the slaughtering sword, directing their trembling steps towards the castle. Multitudes were trodden to death in this scene of confusion and horror, and eager in the contest to enter through that narrow gate which was the only avenue of life. A very few made their way into the castle. The rest were either taken prisoners or slain by the sword.

THE prince of Masserano, as soon as he learnt the hostile designs of Victor Amadeus, had implored that aid which he had formerly rejected. And the governor of Milan had immediately dispatched to his relief Don Sancho del Luna, with two thousand foot and three hundred horse; but in the mean time the castle capitulated. And, in too late an attempt to relieve it, Don Sancho, with many officers and private men lost his life*. Thus the duke of Savoy contended with the power

* Batt. Nani, lib. ii. 1616. Merc. Franc. 1617.

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and the art of the marquis of Villa Franca not without advantage. It is however probable that all the efforts of Charles Emanuel would have been repelled in the end, by the valour, discipline, and ancient renown of the Spanish arms, directed by the genius of Toledo, if they had not been supported by the magnanimous resolution of the mareschal Lesdiguieres equally to consult his own and the glory of France, in spite of all the allurements and the threats of the misled princes, by whom it was at that time governed.

Character of the mareschal Lesdiguieres.

ALTHOUGH fortune sometimes raises the worthless and the weak to the highest offices, yet it must have been singular merit that, in times productive of great characters, could exalt a private gentleman of a very narrow fortune, to the first dignity of a great kingdom that can be enjoyed by a subject. Francis de Bonne, with a patrimony of fifty crowns a year, rose to the station of constable of France, in opposition to many rivals of noble birth and great power. He was of an agreeable aspect, a mild temper, and easy manners; qualities which were not indeed very shining in themselves, but which contributed not a little to raise the mareschal Lesdiguieres to situations in which he had opportunities of displaying

displaying the greatest talents and virtues*. His understanding was manly and solid; he possessed in an eminent degree the virtues of political and martial courage; and, though he was susceptible both of friendship and love, his ruling passion was ambition. The duke of Savoy cultivated the friendship of this man with uncommon attention, and practised with unwearied diligence all his address in order to gain so important an acquisition. To the mareschal Lesdiguieres he shewed all the respect due to a crowned head. If he received him at Turin it was with the utmost pomp and magnificence. If he addressed him in writing, he bestowed on him the endearing and flattering appellations of "good neighbour, and faithful friend." He consulted him on every occasion: and the mareschal returned his confidence and assiduities with the sincerest fidelity and affection. The attachment of Lesdiguieres to Charles Emanuel was well known to the court of Spain, and they endeavoured to counteract its effects by operating on his natural ambition. The king and queen of France, at the instigation of the Spanish ambassador, attempted to seduce him from the interests of Savoy, by calling him to court in order to be invested

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* Amelot de la Houssaie.

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with the privileges and rank of a duke and peer. And, that he might be enabled to support the magnificence of that character, the king of Spain offered him any sum of money he should be pleased to demand, to be paid in any part of Europe. These allurements failing of success, a supply of money was offered sufficient to raise and maintain for a year, an army of forty thousand men, with a suitable train of artillery, to be employed in making himself master of Savoy. Of this duchy the duke of Monteleon, in name of the Spanish monarch, offered him the investiture, on condition of his assisting the Spaniards to conquer Piedmont. This temptation having been also resisted, Monteleon engaged Louis to transmit to the mareschal the most peremptory orders to abstain from levying troops, and on no pretext whatever to move to the assistance of the duke of Savoy. These orders were in vain reiterated and enforced, at the desire of the feeble court of Paris, by the authority of the parliament of Grenoble. Lesdiguieres, in a letter to the king, represented to his majesty, in a firm though respectful tone, that his duty called him to restore the dignity of France in Italy, by fulfilling the engagements of that kingdom to the duke of Savoy, and chastising the perfidy and insolence of Spain. And he added, that however treacherous counsels might

Magnanimous resolution of Lesdiguieres.

might beguile the good intentions of his majesty for a time, he did not despair of his present conduct meeting one day with the approbation of his sovereign*. In this hope he was not disappointed. The king, when he afterwards became sensible how necessary the step taken by Lesdiguieres was to the interests and honour of France, highly applauded his conduct, gave him a formal pardon, and, for his greater satisfaction, ordered it to be registered in the parliament of Paris.

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On the nineteenth day of December 1616, the mareschal Lesdiguieres, exhibiting a signal proof of the greatness of his own mind, and the weakness of the crown of France, set out from Grenoble, at the head of an army of seven thousand foot and five hundred horse, raised in Dauphiny by his own authority, and at the expence of the republic of Venice. Having crossed the Alps in the midst of winter, he arrived at Turin on the third day of January. Reinforced by so considerable a body of gallant troops, and encouraged by the presence, reputation, and aid of a great commander, whose natural abilities were matured by long experience in the military art, the duke of Savoy was elated with the hope of vindi-

* Hist. du Connetable de Lesdiguieres, lib. ix.

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cating his own independence, and inflicting severe vengeance on that haughty court which threatened him with subjection. The united forces of Lesdiguieres and the duke were irresistible. St. Damiano, Alba, and Montiglio, with other places of inferior importance, reduced under the power of Charles, with a rapidity corresponding to the ardour of his mind, nourished his hopes of making other conquests still more important. The reduction of Montiglio is eminently distinguished, not by any noble display of generosity or courage, but by an incident extremely humiliating to man, as it reminds him how much he partakes of the nature of those ferocious and noxious animals which are the constant objects of his hostility and abhorrence. A contest having arisen concerning the garrisoning of that fortress between the French and the Savoyards, the fierce disputants, enflamed by their engagement with the common enemy, directed their unsettled fury and reeking swords against each other. Upwards of a hundred had fallen on either side, before the authority of the general, the count of St. George, was able to prevent a mutual and complete massacre. The savage thirst of blood being now excited, and incapable of being suddenly quenched, loudly demanded an inhuman gratification, and found it in the slaughter

Reduction of Montiglio, and a memorable incident that happened on that occasion.

slaughter of the garrison that had capitulated on favourable terms*.

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THE discontents in France had now drawn to a crisis which threatened the crown with all the violence of civil war. These discontents Charles Emanuel, as above related, had assiduously nourished with his usual dexterity and address. But the most enlightened genius sees not far into futurity, and often the most sagacious ambition blindly labours for its own destruction. The intestine discords and commotions of France obliged the king to recal Lesdiguieres; and instantly the marquis of Villa Franca, who yielding to a torrent which could not be resisted, had resolved to confine his troops within narrow limits, and to act wholly on the defensive, renewed his attacks on the duke of Savoy, commencing his operations with the siege of Vercelli. He sat down before this important place towards the end of May, with an army thirty thousand strong, and a very great train of artillery. When Charles was informed that the governor of Milan had begun to put his troops in motion, he was not at a loss to discover his intention; and, with a view to disappoint it,

The blindness of ambition.

May. Siege of Vercelli.

* Batt. Nani. Hist. lib. iii. 1617.

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having speedily increased the garrison of Vercelli to the number of four thousand, he determined to march his army from Gabiana, and, by reducing the fortress of Pontestura, to oppose, with advantage, the progress of the Spanish army. But, while he meditated this scheme, he discovered that other dangers threatened him than the siege of Vercelli.

DON PEDRO, constrained to relinquish for a time all open attacks on the states of Charles Emanuel, had employed the natural subtilty of his active mind in laying plots against that prince's person and family. Different persons were suborned to cut off the duke by assassination or by poison; and a conspiracy was formed by certain French officers of the garrison of St. Ja, to seize the prince of Piedmont, who commanded that fortress, and to deliver him into the hands of the Spaniards. The discovery of these ignominious plots* diverted the design of the

* It is remarkable, that, although there never was a people more distinguished than the Spaniards for honour and fidelity, yet there is not any period in the history of any nation more disgraced by plots and conspiracies than that which forms the subject of this narrative. When resentment, ambition, or other passions, cannot find gratification openly, and in the direct road of superior force, they have recourse

the duke against Pontestura, by summoning his attention to cares more immediate and urgent. The conviction and punishment of conspirators and assassins, employed that critical time, which would otherwise have been occupied

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recourse to stratagem, as fully appears from the history of nations, as well as individuals. Perhaps, too, ideas of superior dignity have a tendency to blunt the sense of injustice committed against inferiors. The different prices or compensations for wounds, and even for murders, that took place about eight hundred years ago, in so many nations of Europe, is a striking proof how much this iniquitous sentiment naturally prevails in the human mind. There is as great injustice in wantonly maiming, or otherwise torturing, or putting to death, a dog, a horse, or other animal, as there would be in wounding or destroying a man; yet there are but few whose consciences would be stung with remorse at the commission of such crimes; a matter which is to be accounted for only from that immeasureable distance which our fancy, still more than nature, interposes between men and the inferior animals, and which precludes all sympathy. A nation accustomed to think itself vastly superior in dignity to all others, and to arrogate to itself an exclusive privilege of dominion, fancies it has a right of asserting that privilege by all means, however inconsistent with justice. The inhabitants of Calais were saved from the furious resentment of Edward III. of England, by the transcending virtue of six of their fellow-citizens, who devoted themselves to certain destruction for the sake of their relations, friends, and companions: the condition required by that haughty and cruel conqueror. These six heroic burgesses were saved from death, not by the

BOOK V. occupied in preventing the siege of Vercelli, or, by plentiful stores of provisions and ammunition to prepare it for a vigorous resistance.

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THE siege had not been continued above sixteen days, when the Savoyards were reduced to the necessity of supplying the place of iron balls and lead with tin and stones. The qnantity of their powder also was insufficient; nor could all the efforts of Charles encourage the gallantry of the besieged by a fresh supply. Two hundred and fifty cavalry, with sacks of powder of twenty-five pounds each, were way-laid in their concealed march to Vercelli, through the vigilance of Toledo; and the fire of the Spaniards having been communicated to such inflammable materials, only thirty of that number made their way into the place of their destination. Two hundred and twenty horses, with their riders,

the generosity of Edward, but by the importunity and tears of his queen. Yet this prince was profuse in his civilities to the French officers, who, about the same time, had fallen into his hands, although their courage was not to be compared with that of the burgesses. Had six knights appeared before him in the guise of malefactors, instead of six citizens, he would have been shocked at the idea of ordering them to be led to execution, and have been full in his praises of their signal patriotism and resolution.

miser-

miserably perished in one sudden conflagration; yet the besieged made a gallant defence, and repulsed the Spaniards, in different sallies, with great slaughter. The assailants made a furious effort to carry the place by a general assault; but, if the valour of the Spaniards was animated by the love of glory and the hope of plunder, the Savoyards, anticipating in their imaginations the calamities and horrors that awaited themselves, and objects still dearer to them than life, in case of defeat, were roused with the fury of despair. The steady bravery of the besiegers gave way on this occasion to the rage which impelled the besieged; and, in the first moment of their retreat, a hundred cuirassiers, sallying with their swords in their hands into the ditch, made a dreadful carnage. Fifteen hundred men perished on the side of Spain; on that of Savoy not an hundred. The duke of Savoy, being informed of the desperate intrepidity of his faithful garrison, was filled with all those emotions which the fidelity, bravery, and danger of men suffering in his cause, were naturally fitted to produce in his generous mind. He attempted a second time, secretly to convey ammunition and provision into Vercelli; but lost by that fruitless effort four hundred men. At last, exasperated by repeated disappointment, he drew near to the Spanish

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Spanish camp by night, by storming, or even making a feint of storming which, he hoped to be able to succour Vercelli. Having ranged his troops along the banks of the Sesia, he sent a strong detachment over that river, in separate parties, under the marquis D'Urfe, who was repulsed by a body of Spanish horse, with the loss of six hundred men. This bold measure of the duke was not wholly without success; for while the Spaniards hastened to oppose the Savoyards in that quarter where D'Urfé directed his attack, a thousand men, loaded with ammunition, made their way into Vercelli by another. But this scanty supply was far from being sufficient; and, besides this circumstance, the garrison was now greatly diminished by the accidents of war, and the fatigues of duty. In this situation were the besieged, when Toledo, on the 25th July, which, being the festival of St. James, was deemed fortunate for Spain, made a general assault, and effected a lodgment in a bastion, against which, from the commencement of the siege, he had principally directed the fury of his artillery. The garrison, at that instant, demanded and obtained honourable terms of capitulation; their baggage, and arms, and all the honours of war. Toledo, having garrisoned Vercelli, and levied very high contributions on the inhabitants, marching

ing his army along the course of the Tanarus, reduced, under the power of Spain, Soleri, Felician, and Anona, with other places, the possession of which, he hoped, would pave the way to the execution of an enterprize he meditated against the important city of Asti*.

Tragical fate of the mareschal and lady mareschal D'Ancre.

An unexpected and tragical event in France interrupted the career of Toledo in Italy. Concino Concini and Eleanor Galigai, afterwards the mareschal and the lady mareschal D'Ancre, made their first appearance at the court of Paris, in the train of Mary de Medicis, on her first arrival in that city from Florence. Their abilities and address, aided by that sympathy which men feel for their compatriots, however humble their rank of life, when in the course of Providence they accompany or meet each other in foreign lands, so gained on the favour of the indulgent queen, that she raised them to a degree of power intolerable to the nobles, and odious to the people. Depending on the queen-regent, they depended also on Spain, the great prop of her power, and were naturally devoted to the interests of a crown, which, by supporting Mary's, supported also their authority. In order to prolong the period of their borrowed power, they diverted the thoughts of Lewis, now of

* Batt. Nan. lib. iii. Hist. du Regne de Louis XIII.

age,

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age, from matters of state, by encouraging him in the pursuit of those youthful amusements which had hitherto occupied all his time, and engrossed all his attention. The more effectually to fix his mind in an indifference towards all political objects, they provided him with companions of his own age, whose society they imagined, would amuse his leisure, and heighten by sympathy his relish for those pleasures to which he was addicted.

Albert de Luines becomes the favourite of the king of France.

Among these, Charles Albert de Luines, a young gentleman of Avignon, was distinguished for the handsomeness of his person, the gracefulness of his air, and the obliging politeness of his behaviour. He gained by degrees the affection and confidence of his young sovereign, and was indulged, at all times, with familiar access to his person. Concini perceived the ascendency this young favourite had acquired over the king; and, in order to attach him to himself, preferred him to the government of Amboise. But Luines, prompted by his own ambition, and encouraged by the murmurs and discontents that pervaded the kingdom, gave such an account of the conduct and designs of his benefactor, as filled the inexperienced mind of his prince with horror, and persuaded him that the preservation of his own life, as well as his power, depended on the death of the ma-

mareschal D'Ancre. Vitri, captain of the guards, undertook and accomplished the bloody purpose of sacrificing the life of the mareschal to the suspicions of the king. On the twentieth of April, the unfortunate Florentine carelessly entered within the gate of the royal palace of the Louvre, which was instantly shut behind him, and was walking towards the apartments of the queen-regent, reading a letter as he went, when the captain of the guard arrested him, in the name of the king, and beckoned to his accomplices, who stood by him in anxious expectation of that signal. Three assassins, at that instant, poured the contents of their fire-arms into his body, which, after he had fallen dead on the ground, they spurned, and cut in different parts with their swords; but the populace greedy of every opportunity of giving vent to the animal ferosity of their nature, and zealous on all occasions to avenge on the powerful and great the unequal distributions of fortune, dug up the mangled corpse of Concini, which had been ignominiously buried, and dragged it in horrid triumph along the streets of Paris. They afterwards, having cut it in small pieces, roasted and inhumanly devoured it*; and happy was the man who

* A similar instance of savage ferocity was exhibited by the Parisians, men and women, in the month of August, 1792.

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could obtain the smallest morsel of the savage sacrifice*.

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THE authority of the queen-regent was annihilated by the stroke which cut off the mareschal D'Ancre; and Luines, who succeeded to all the power of that stranger, agreeably to the common conduct of new ministers in all nations, departed at first from the maxims, and vehemently arraigned the conduct of his predecessor. He particularly exclaimed against that uniform deference which had been shewn by the former administration to the counsels of Rome and Madrid †. In this temper was the court of

* Bernard Histoire de Louis XIII. Siri Mem. recon. tem. iv. Relation de la Mort. du Mareschal D'Ancre, Journal de Bassompierre. Memoires D'Amelot de la Houssaie.

† Siri Mem. recond. tom. iv. p. 68. Relation de la Mort de Mareschal d'Ancre. Memoires de Rohan, lib. i.

France,

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France, when news arrived of the surrender of Vercelli. The progress of this siege had not been regarded with indifference by a young and spirited king, the relation and ally of the duke of Savoy, and a guarantee of the treaty of Asti. At so flagrant a violation of this he was highly indignant: but he was diverted from his design of sending effectual succour to the duke, if the siege of Vercelli should not be immediately abandoned, by the duke of Monteleone, the Spanish ambassador. Lewis, having sent for the duke, told him that, sincerely as he wished to maintain a good understanding with the king of Spain, the extravagant and unwarrantable conduct of Don Petro de Toledo, if persisted in, would oblige him to take a step very much against his inclination. Neither the interests of his crown, nor his personal honour, he said, would permit him to be a tame spectator of the oppression of his allies. If the duke of Savoy should refuse to accede to reasonable terms of peace, he would be the first to declare war against him, in order to enforce his acquiescence. But if the Catholic king should attempt the subjugation of the duke, without having first made a tender of peace and amity, agreeably to a former convention, and altogether such as a sovereign and independent prince could accept, then he should consider

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himself as under an indispensible obligation to protect the person, the family, and the states of Savoy.

To prove the sincerity of this declaration, a body of troops under the mareschal, duke of Angoûleme, was ordered to march into Dauphiny, to join those under the mareschal de Lesdiguieres; and a fund for subsisting them for three months was remitted from Paris to a banking-house at Lyons. When Monteleone perceived that the French were resolutely bent on crossing the Alps, he remonstrated with great eagerness against a measure that could not fail to interrupt the present harmony between France and Spain, and that might inflame all Europe. He was joined in his remonstrances by the Papal nuncio at the court of Paris, Bentivoglio, who set himself to shew, by a variety of considerations, that if the turbulent ambition of Charles Emanuel were not repressed, and his high and restless spirit humbled, there was no peace either for Italy or the countries contiguous.

Lewis sent again for the duke of Monteleone, and told him, in the presence of the Savoyard ambassador, that it was his fixed purpose to re-establish peace between the king of Spain, his own brother-in-law, and the

the duke of Savoy, the king's uncle. He declared that, seeing all his good offices for that end had proved fruitless, he would immediately send an army into Piedmont, under the command of mareschal Lesdiguieres, and desired him to write to his Catholic majesty, that he was determined to afford effectual aid to the duke of Savoy, if the king should not, without delay, fulfil the treaty of Asti. "I will not fail," Monteleone replied, "to acquaint the king, my master, with your majesty's pacific disposition. But I most humbly beg to be excused from transmitting to Madrid the declaration your majesty has made of an intention to support the duke of Savoy, against the king, my master." "I do not tell you," replied Lewis, "that I will take part with the duke of Savoy, against the king, your master, but that I will protect the duke of Savoy against oppression."

THE Spanish ambassador finding the French king resolute in his purpose, bethought him of an expedient for at least saving the honour of Spain, by a kind of compromise. Having gained to his side Luines, and other ministers, he represented in a memorial addressed to the king, how exceedingly improbable it was, that either Philip, or his prime

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minister, the duke of Lerma, both of whose dispositions to peace were well known, should have any other object in view than the tranquillity of Italy, and of Europe. A Spanish army had been precipitated into the siege of Vercelli, by the unauthorised violence of the marquis of Villa Franca. But the court of Madrid was very far from harbouring any intention or wish to crush the duke of Savoy. It only wished for an honourable extrication from the present embarrassment. Vercelli, when taken, he assured his majesty, in the name of the Catholic king, should be restored to Charles Emanuel. But it was fit, and there could not be a doubt, but if it was his majesty's wish, that the dignity and honour of the Spanish crown should be maintained. "Your Most Christian Majesty," said Monteleone, "has too great a sense of EQUITY to be of opinion that a duke of Savoy should oblige the king of Spain to raise the siege of Vercelli, contrary to his own inclinations*." Lewis XIII. on whom the voice of France bestowed the epithet of *Just*, listened with complacency, and did not withhold his assent to the rea-

* Histoire du Connetable de Lesdiguieres, lib. ix. chap. 6.

soning

soning of Monteleone; exhibiting a conspicuous proof and example, of how little estimation in the eyes of kings are the lives of men, when balanced against their own inclinations and passions. The king of France did not sympathise with the sufferers among both the besieged and the besiegers of Vercelli; but with the king of Spain, to whom the failure of an enterprise, would have been a severe mortification. It was agreed that the siege of Vercelli should be suffered to proceed; but that, after its reduction, there should be a complete and prompt fulfilment of the convention of Asti. Secret instructions were transmitted to the duke of Angoûleme to slacken his march into Dauphiny. The compromise that had been agreed to, was also communicated confidentially to the mareschal Lesdiguieres; who, in consequence of this intelligence, had not advanced beyond the town of Vegliona, in the marquisate of Suza, where he received information that Vercelli had surrendered to Don Pedro de Toledo.

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The progress of the Spaniards in their conquests, after the reduction of Vercelli, exciting a suspicion that this important place would never, after all that had been promised, be given back to the duke of Savoy without

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compulsion, Lesdiguieres, at the head of fifteen thousand foot, and two thousand cavalry, resumed his march into Piedmont. In his train were many lords and gentlemen of France, volunteers, among whom was the duke of Vendome, and the great duke of Rohan, at the head of three squadrons of cavalry. The orders of the mareschal were, strenuously to aid the duke of Savoy in his efforts to recover his own dominions, but not to involve the court of France in a war with Spain, by insulting either the territories of Milan or Mantua. But Lesdiguieres had greater objects in view than to expel Don Pedro from the coasts of Savoy. The military reputation of the Spanish commander, instead of repressing the courage of the mareschal, filled him with an ardent desire to take the field against an antagonist, whose genius and vigour would give full exercise to all his abilities and experience, and over whom a victory would be truly glorious. However, making a shew of respect to his majesty's commands, he ordered his troops to lay aside for a while the colours of France, and to wear those of Savoy.

1617. Lesdiguieres marches to the assistance of the duke of Savoy.

Don Pedro de Toledo, after the reduction of Vercelli, had distributed his army, for the purpose of refreshment, in different towns and villages of Montferrat, but chiefly in

in those of the province of Alexandria. In the midst of all his quarters lay the village of Feliziano, which was slightly barricadoed, and defended by two thousand men. The experienced eye of Lesdiguieres quickly perceived, that, by surprising this centrical station, he would deprive the Spaniards of the most proper place of rendezvous in their possession, and prevent a junction of their divided forces He communicated these ideas to Charles Emanuel. The duke was at first struck with the danger of attempting an enterprize against a place surrounded by the posts of the enemy; but Lesdiguieres insisted that by a nocturnal, rapid, and unexpected march, it would not be difficult, but, on the contrary, a very easy matter to make the duke master of Feliziano, from which centre he might turn his successful arms against the other quarters of the Spaniards with great glory and advantage. Charles acquiescing in the reasoning, or yielding to the authority of the mareschal, an expedition was concerted against Feliziano. Thither the combined army began to march, as soon as the darkness of the night favoured the enterprize, in three divisions. The van was led by the mareschal Lesdiguieres, the main body by the duke of Savoy, and Shomberg, mareschal of the camp, brought up the rear with the artillery. But Charles Emanuel, taught

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taught by the reduction of Vercelli to respect the valour of the Spaniards, and the abilities of the marquis of Villa Franca, bethought himself, after the troops under Lesdiguieres had moved, that the situation and motions of the Spaniards rendered the expedition on which he had entered extremely dangerous. He therefore sent a courier to the mareschal, advising him to return on his steps. The mareschal, who, in an advanced age, possessed all the fire of youth, replied to the messenger with much emotion, "I have followed the profession of arms above fifty years without having ever turned my back on the enemy: an honour of which I am determined my conduct on this day shall not deprive me. There is more shame in retreating than danger in going on." Having said this, he jumped out of the litter in which he had hitherto been borne; and, notwithstanding some feverish symptoms that were about him, mounted on horseback, placed himself at the head of his troops, and continued his march*. He arrived at Feliziano about the dawning of the day; and, the duke of Savoy having joined him soon after with the main body of the army, which he conducted by a private way with astonishing celerity, the place was immediately invested, and

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* Hist. du Regne de Louis XIII. et des Evenements principaux, &c.

taken

taken by assault. All the common soldiers, and many of the inhabitants, were put to the sword. The officers were made prisoners. Not a man of Feliziano escaped with his liberty and his life*. Quatordeci, Renfracona, Anonà, Rocca, and Nice, were also quickly subdued by the united arms of Charles Emanuel and Lesdiguieres; the rapidity of whose conquests, in the space of a week, weakened the Spanish army by a loss of more than five thousand men.

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Don Pedro now abandoned his design of besieging Asti, and retreated from Soleri into the Milanese; all his force, vigilance, and art, being necessary to put that country in a posture of defence against the threatened irruptions of the duke of Savoy. But the duke of Monteleone having assured the king of France that Vercelli should be restored, and the treaty of Asti executed with fidelity and promptitude on the part of Spain, Lesdiguieres was recalled in the full career of victory. The mareschal, having in vain remonstrated that the present juncture presented a glorious opportunity for recovering the Milanese to the crown of France, yielded obedience to the reiterated commands of his sovereign. Toledo agreed to a cessation of arms,

* Batt. Nan. lib. iii. 1617. Mem. de Roban liv. i.

and

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and promised to use his utmost endeavours to effectuate an entire accommodation, and, particularly, came under an engagement to Bethune, at Pavia, the 9th of October, that, on condition of the duke's disbanding his army, and restoring the places he had taken in the course of the current month, he on his part would give up Vercelli with the other places he had seized, and disarm his troops, in November. This agreement being made, the mareschal marched back to Grenoble*. But the ministers of Spain, not satisfied with the return of the French troops into Dauphiny, remonstrated to the court of France, that the keeping on foot so great a force, so near the confines of Savoy, would be an infraction of the treaty of Asti. They declared that Vercelli would not be delivered up to Charles Emanuel, while the Swiss troops hovered in the county of Vaux, and his friend, Lesdiguieres, was ready, on the shortest notice, to march to his aid at the head of an army. Lewis, who was willing to maintain the independency of Savoy, but averse to any violent rupture with the Catholic king, not only disbanded his own troops in Dauphiny, but also urged Charles to preclude Toledo from every pretext of war, by laying down in good earnest

* Hist. du Connetable de Lesdiguieres, liv. ix.

his

his arms; assuring him of the warmest support and protection, in case the Spaniards should attempt, either by open force, or secret artifice, to elude the execution of the treaties of Pavia and Asti. The promise of the king having been warranted, at his majesty's desire, by the superior authority and credit of the mareschal Lesdiguieres, Charles Emanuel disbanded his army. Upon this the French ambassadors, Modene and Bethune, went from Turin to the governor of Milan to assure him of this fact, and to engage him to imitate the duke's pacific example. They soon perceived, from his affected difficulties and evasions, not only that he had no mind to restore Vercelli, but that it was his intention to make fresh attacks on the duke of Savoy.

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Lewis, who, in the solitude of rural scenes and amusements, had hitherto concealed an elevated courage, was moved with equal indignation and surprize at the treacherous conduct of Toledo. "I am not at a loss," said he to the Spanish ambassador, "to conjecture the cause to which I ought to ascribe the delays of Spain to give satisfaction to the duke of Savoy. The king, your master, thinks I dare not go out of my kingdom without leaving it full of distractions; but I wish him to know that it is not altogether in so bad a condition as he

The governor of Milan averse to peace.

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1617. he imagines it to be; and, if my kingdom should be ruined, and my sovereignty annihilated by my absence, I am determined to cross the mountains, and at the hazard of my life and of my crown, to fulfil my promise to the duke of Savoy, and to oblige the king of Spain to make good his word to me." The voice, the looks, and the gestures of the young king, made an impression on the mind of Monteleon, which he communicated to the court of Madrid. Orders were immediately dispatched from thence to the government of Milan, to execute with promptitude and good faith all the articles of the treaties of Asti and Pa-

1618. via*. But the court of Spain found that it was as hard a task to incline the marquis of Villa Franca to peace, as it had been to rouze Inoiosa to arms. His first excuse for not disbanding his troops, was, that the Swiss regiments, lately in Piedmont, had not returned to their own country, but halted in the country of Vaux, ready to obey the nod of the duke of Savoy, from whom they still drew their usual pay. Bethune protested, in writing, that the troops of the duke were disbanded, and charged Toledo with all the calamities that might arise from his disbelief of a matter of fact, of

* Discourse de ce qui s'est passé dans le Piedmont et l'Etat de Milan, &c. Apud Hist. du Regne de Louis XIII.

which

which he might easily obtain the most undoubted evidence. The governor, driven from this ground, privately offered the duke of Savoy the greatest advantages, if he would abandon his connections with Venice and France, and unite his interests with those of Spain. Provided that Vercelli should remain in the hands of the Spaniards, and that Casal should also be added to the state of Milan, he promised to extend the dominion of Charles over all the rest of Montferrat. This artifice having failed of success, he endeavoured to persuade the duke of Mantua to insist on a compensation for damages, and on, what he had always so much at heart, the liberty of punishing such of the subjects of Montferrat as had espoused the cause of his adversary. But neither did this stratagem succeed. He next had recourse to a contrivance which he deemed infallible; he attempted to excite the jealousy of the duke of Savoy by circulating whispers, that, when Ferdinand should be restored to the sovereignty of Montferrat, the house of Gonzaga would give it up to Spain, in exchange for other possessions. But Charles having disregarded these false reports, Don Pedro devised yet another expedient, which might subdue the wary but spirited duke, by provoking his indignation. His secretary, Carone, who was then at Milan along with the

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the French ambassadors, Toledo haughtily ordered instantly to leave the territories of Spain, and to go about his business. By this artifice he surprised the mind of Charles, and gained an advantage over his understanding through the agency of his passions. The high-spirited duke, not adverting that Toledo was now practising such ingenious stratagems on his own mind, as he himself had employed when he carried on a war of wit on that of Inoiosa, instantly suspends the evacuation of the places he had taken, and sends advice to Modene and Bethune to return from Milan. The subtlety of the Spaniard (such is the advantage of making an attack!) would have triumphed over that of the Savoyard, which was equal, if not superior, had not the French ambassadors conjured the latter not to make sport to the former, who sought for nothing else than a pretext for reviving hostilities. The duke, admonished by the prudence of these ministers, restored, on the 6th of April, all the places he possessed in Montferrat: he also evacuated Zucarello, Anona, and Masserano, and every other fief he had seized of the empire. His prisoners he delivered into the hands of the French ambassadors. News having arrived of all these things at Milan, the governor, equally surprised and chagrined, exclaimed, "It appears that the treaty of

Asti

Asti must at last be executed, since heaven and earth will have it so*." He released his prisoners, and evacuated St. Germano, but still held fast possession of Vercelli.

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THE court of Madrid, in the mean time, had sent repeated and positive orders to fulfil all the conditions, without exception, of the treaty of Asti; and, in order to give the world a striking proof how much they disapproved the conduct of Don Pedro, they determined to recall him, and to appoint the duke of Feria his successor in the government of Milan. This intention was not kept a secret from Don Pedro, yet he persevered in the invention of new evasions. "It is not consistent, said he, with the honour of the monarchy to restore Vercelli, while the French ambassadors remain at Milan. The restitution of that place must not seem to be extorted by the threatenings of France, but to be, as it really is, a voluntary deed on the part of Spain." This pretext was removed by the immediate departure of Modene and Bethune. "Before I give up Vercelli," said Don Pedro, once more, "I insist that Garesio (a town of Montferrat, belonging to the count de St. George, but now garrisoned by the troops of Savoy) shall be re-

* Batt. Nan. Hist. lib. iii. anno 1618.

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stored to its right owner." Garesio was restored; and Toledo, all his artifices being now exhausted, began with proud reluctance and by slow degrees, to carry away from Vercelli the ammunition and the arms. But, after this operation was begun, he bethought him of yet another pretext for gaining time. He required a new promise from Charles Emanuel, that he would not give any occasion of offence to the duke of Mantua; but the ministers of Ferdinand, impatient of these multiplied delays, and more suspicious of Toledo himself than of any of the princes of Italy, declared in writing, to his great vexation, that they required not any other assurances of the pacific intentions of the duke of Savoy than those they had already obtained.

MEN's astonishment at the public conduct of the marquis of Villa Franca was heightened when they remarked its coincidence with that of the duke of Ossuna.

Character of the duke of Ossuna.

DON PEDRO GIRON, knight of the Golden Fleece, and a grandee of the first class of Spain, inherited from a long line of ancestors the pride of noble birth, and the command of a princely fortune: circumstances which are sometimes indeed found in conjunction with meanness of sentiment, but which fostered that natural

natural sublimity of imagination that carried Ossuna to pursue grand designs by extraordinary means. His temper was uncommonly fervent, and his fancy lively even to extravagance. Hence, though his understanding was quick and penetrating, his conduct was neither regulated by the common maxims of policy and prudence, nor his demeanour, in the intercourses of life, by the rules of propriety and decorum. In the presence of his sovereign, he would talk with a gaiety and boldness unknown in the courts of kings, and which appeared to the sage gravity of his compatriots to border upon madness. But his conversation in all companies, and on all occasions, was adorned with a brilliancy of wit, which, in the eyes of most men, would more than compensate many levities and indiscretions. This duke is justly censured by grave historians for his gallantries, which were not veiled or palliated by delicacy of sentiment; but, on the contrary, sensual, open, and licentious. Yet that grosser species of love was attended with this advantage, that it left his mind free and disengaged, and did not interfere in any respect with his projects of ambition*. He had served

* What was said of Sylla is applicable to Ossuna. Voluptatem cupidus, gloriæ cupidior, otio, luxurioso esse, tamen a negotiis nunquam voluptas remorata.

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in the army in the war with the United Provinces, in a high rank, and with great glory; and his merit, as a soldier, was either the cause, or as oftener happens in courts, the pretext for his preferment to the important station of viceroy of Naples. In this station he amazed the world with the singularity of his character, and disturbed its repose by the boldness of his ambition*.

History of of the Uscocchi.

WHEN the race of Ottoman extended their conquests from the Black Sea to the gulf of Venice, a number of the ancient inhabitants fled from the terror of their irresistible arms, to the forests and mountains on the frontiers of the countries now known by the name of Turkey in Europe. And, having acquired, from their wandering and unsettled manner of life, a ferocity of character, they gradually became careless of their herds and flocks, and subsisted chiefly by hunting and rapine. The Uscocchi, for that is the name by which those fugitives are distinguished, were no longer that effeminate race which yielded without resistance their fertile possessions to the invasions of their enemies. Impelled by the hardships

* Batt. Nan. Hist. dela Republica Veneta, lib. iv. 1620. Historia de Don Felippe IV. Rey de las Espanas por Don Gonçalo de Cespedes. Lib. segundo, capitulo seg.

and

and the courage of barbarians, they made frequent inroads into the settlements of their conquerors, and satisfied their wants by plunder, while they gratified their revenge by devastation. In this vagabond state they lived for many years, wandering from place to place, still directing their course to those wild and rugged abodes which prosperous nations avoid, but which the unfortunate court as the seats of freedom. The Austrian coasts, on the confines of Istria, broken by the operations of the elements into a thousand rocks and creeks, and small islands of difficult access, appeared a fit habitation to the Uscocchi: and the emperor Ferdinand, desirous by all means to form a barrier against the irruptions of the Turks into Hungary, bestowed on this fierce and warlike people, the strong town of Segna, which became their capital. In the neighbourhood of these fugitives lay the territories of a people similar in their origin, but more prosperous in their fortune *, whose wealth, both on sea and land, invited the rapacity of men who had no other profession than that of robbers and pirates. The Uscocchi, instead of punishment for these offences, received protection from

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* The Venetians found an asylum from the fury of Attila, in the insignificancy still more than the natural strength of fens and morasses.

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War between Austria and the Venetians.

Ferdinand, archduke of Gratz, within whose government Segna was situated. This produced a war between the Austrians, and the Venetians. The menaces of the Turks *, and the prospect of an expensive election to the crown of Bohemia, soon inclined Ferdinand to hearken to terms of accommodation with the republic, whose army, powerfully reinforced by soldiers of fortune from Holland, had invested Gradisca, the capital of Goritia, and reduced it to the greatest extremity of distress. The Spaniards would have willingly furnished the means of carrying on a war against a people that on every occasion strenuously opposed their domineering schemes in Italy. But their contest with Charles Emanuel fully employed all their resources, and prevented a disjunction of their forces. Yet, whatever could be done in favour of Ferdinand and the Uscocchi, was performed by the duke of Ossuna and the marquis of Villa Franca. Amidst the heat of the campaign in Piedmont, Toledo kept up a considerable military force near the Venetian borders, and made other preparations which seemed to threaten a diversion in favour of the Austrians. This, the truce with the duke of Savoy, brought about by the

* Winwood's Memoirs, vol. iii. A letter from sir Dudley Carleton, dated Venice, 27 of February, 1612.

mareschal

marcschal Lesdiguieres, enabled him afterwards to accomplish. While Don Pedro de Toledo, by his menaces, and by his attacks on the Venetians by land, endeavoured to relieve the Austrians; Ossuna, by various operations at sea, and with great success, laboured for the same end. By his orders, a Spanish fleet cruized in the Mediterranean, in order to intercept any succours that might be sent to the republic by that channel; while another interrupted the sources of their wealth and power, by seizing their merchant ships in the Adriatic. These were brought in triumph into the port of Naples, which became the rendezvous of corsairs and pirates. Hence such of the Uscocchi as had been driven from their strong-holds on the Austrian coast, found freedom of trade, and personal protection. The profuse genius of Ossuna did not afford shelter to the Uscocchi and other pirates that he might share in their plunder, but that he might collect a sufficient number of desperate men for the execution of any daring enterprize. In the mean time, the Neopolitan merchants found means of representing to the court of Madrid, that the piratical trade, which was now carried on at Naples, had ruined fair commerce, and of course diminished the royal revenues. Happily for the Neopolitans, their complaints coincided, both in time and intention, with the

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remonstrances of France. An order was dispatched to all the foreign ministers in Italy to suspend hostilities, as a negociation was now on foot for a general peace between Savoy and Spain, and the Venetians and Ferdinand of Austria.

THE marquis of Bedmar soon after paid his compliments to the Venetian senate on its happy conclusion*; and Toledo withdrew the troops he had sent into the states of the republic, into the territories of Milan. But Ossuna, enraged at the very name of peace, sends a fleet into the Adriatic, under the command of the famous Admiral Rivera, and denounces immediate death against the man who shall dare to complain to the court of Madrid of the interruption of commerce. Both this fleet and that which was sent to oppose it from Venice, after a slight encounter, were dispersed by a storm. The Spaniards took shelter in Brundisium, the Venetians in St. Croce, a port which

* It was agreed that the Venetians should restore their conquests without reserve: and on the part of the Austrians, that they should restrain the piracies of the Uscocchi; banish their ringleaders, and also the banditti of the republic that lived among that people; that they should change the governor of Segna, and bridle that place by a German garrison; and finally, that they should give up all the captures of Ossuna.

they

they had occupied for some time, with a view to prevent Ossuna from fortifying, as he threatened, several rocks on the confines of Ragusa, a small republic protected by the Turks. The Ragusians, a commercial people, were naturally disposed to give every encouragement to a power that disputed the empire of the Adriatic with a nation whom they had long considered as their oppressors: accordingly, they had received, at different times, Ossuna's fleets into their harbours, and both refreshed them with provisions, and recruited them with sailors. The Venetians now chastised this avowed partiality for their enemies; and the Ragusians complained of their conduct, and represented their designs as dangerous to the Ottoman port. A military force was immediately stationed along the coasts of Dalmatia and Albany; and Ossuna, taking advantage of this circumstance, endeavoured to spread, throughout all the Italian states, the terror of a Turkish invasion. The best possible expedient on this alarming occasion, he said, would be to strengthen his hands with such a naval force as might be sufficient to defend the liberties of Europe, and raise, among the Infidels, the name of Christians. But the vigilance of the Venetian senate, discovered that at this very time Ossuna was practising on all the passions which usually determine the

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the public conduct of the Porte, in order to draw the fury of their arms upon the island of Candia, at that time subject to the dominion of the republic *. This fact, announced to all the courts of Europe, confounded the subtlety of Ossuna, and left him, for a short time, without the resource of a single stratagem. The Spanish fleet, in the mean time, and numbers of privateers, continue to plunder the ships, and to ravage the coasts of Venice. The pope and the ambassadors of France, interposed their good offices with Osunna, in behalf of the republic, in vain †. Philip himself, by letters written with his own hand, commanded him to abstain from all hostilities, and to restore

* Nani Historia Veneta, Lib. iii. Vittorio Siri Memorie Recondite, tom. iv.

† When the pope's minister Rossi had reasoned with Ossuna against war with the Venetians, on political ground, to no purpose, he tried to operate on his mind by religious considerations. It was an unjust war, he told him, and that he would have to answer to God for all the blood shed in it, and all the other miseries that might accompany or flow from it. The duke, according to his usual manner, turned off this kind of discourse with a joke, "Signior," said he, "reasons of conscience do well enough in questions relating to the cloisters of monks. But they are not of any weight in matters of state. As to a little more or less of conscientiousness in any thing, we governors are not very nice. The duchess, my wife, has religion enough for us both. She is patroness of I know not how many nunneries."

all

all that he had taken from Venice. His Catholic majesty had not better success than his holiness and the count de Bethune. Ossuna offered, indeed, in consequence of the orders of the king, to restore the empty vessels, but declined to give back their valuable freights. He continued his piracies and depredations, deigning, however, to cover his disobedience to the commands of the king, by those excuses which the various course and accidents of war readily suggest to the imagination of an ingenious commander. "It is not fit," he would say, at one time, "that I should sit still, while the Venetians are fortifying the harbour of St. Croce." "I will persist," he would exclaim with vehemence at another, "in my present conduct so long as the Venetians shall retain in their pay the most inveterate enemies of the king, my master." When he was ordered to deliver an account of the merchandize he had seized, he seemed to sport with the orders of Philip, by giving an inventory so imperfect as the Venetian ambassador refused to accept, and even complained of the mockery. The Venetians, thus plundered and insulted, equipped a fleet, which retaliated on the Spaniards, all the piracies and depredations of the viceroy of Naples: but, at the same time, the senate regretted the necessity they were under

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der of defending themselves by making such reprisals. To the marquis of Bedmar, the Spanish ambassador, they complained of the never-ceasing hostilities of Ossuna, and professed themselves at a loss to reconcile the actions of the viceroy of Naples, with the declarations of the court of Spain. The ambassador, in reply, touched with an imposing delicacy on the irregularity of Ossuna's disposition, and insinuated that the conduct of that duke was neither under the controul of the king, his master, nor of any fixed principles or regular system of action. In reality, the behaviour of Ossuna seemed to furnish matter for such an apology, while he directed the Spanish arms, in spite of the repeated orders from his sovereign, against a state with whom he had not declared war; and constantly meditated hostile designs, of which he talked without reserve to all around him, although, from their nature, the utmost secrecy was necessary to their execution. His conversation turned wholly upon surprising the Venetian ports in Istria, plundering their islands, and even making a descent on Venice. He had himself carefully studied the plan of that city, and he now described it with infinite accuracy to all who possessed his confidence. He contrived flat-bottomed boats, with machines to faci-

facilitate their motion, and made daily experiments of the weights which the several depths of water were capable of bearing, according to the different constructions and dimensions of vessels. To the Venetians, transactions so open and avowed, were a subject of laughter, and gave weight to the defence which had been made for the viceroy by the marquis of Bedmar. They were ignorant that the hostilities, of which they complained, proceeded from the secret machinations of this minister himself, which were more effectually concealed by the extravagance and apparent folly of the duke, than they could have been by the most studied secrecy and circumspection*.

Frequency of plots and assassinations accounted for.

THE princes and states of Italy, enervated by luxury, or employed in commerce, committed themselves to the protection of mercenaries†, distinguished by the names of Leaders of Bands‡. The transition was not unnatural from mercenary soldiers to private assassins. The military and generous spirit of ancient Rome, was subdued by despotism

* Batt. Nan. lib. iii. 1617. Conjuration des Espagnols, &c. par M. L'Abbé St. Real.

† Nichol. Machiavelli, Historia Fiorentina, lib. i.

‡ Condottieri.

and

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and by luxury; and throughout the whole of Italy, broken into innumerable principalities, by the dissolution of the Roman empire, the petty sovereigns had recourse on all occasions to stratagems and plots, not the valour of arms. And, as customs and manners always descend from the higher to the lower ranks of men, plots and assassinations became common among the people as well as their princes. Conspiracies, together with other practices and arts, were diffused from Italy over other parts of Europe; and especially over those countries between which and Italy there was a close intercourse and connection*. It is the

* It is confessed, that plots and assassinations are to be found in the history of all nations: yet it will readily be allowed, that these are more frequent in that of modern Italy, than in the accounts we have of any other country, if the reign of Philip III. of Spain does not form an exception to this position. As writers commonly chuse for the subjects of their productions, things not wholly unknown, but which they suppose to need new proof and illustration, so the famous Machiavel did not interweave into his political system, those dishonourable artifices which set all justice and fidelity at defiance, from a mischievous originality in his own mind. He laid down rules for conspiracies, because conspiracies were in every body's mouth, and every where practised. To plan and accomplish an ingenious plot, formed, in his times, a branch of political education. Archbishop Spotswood, in his history, relates, that when he visited the earl of Gowrie, who formed a conspiracy

the nature of every passion to tend as directly as possible towards its object*. The love of power, and the desire of revenge, wait not the slow process of conspiracies, nor trust to their uncertain issue, when they can gain their end by the plain and direct road of superior force. It was a proof of the decline of Spain, that she adopted a practice, founded in fear and weakness.

Spanish conspiracy against Venice.

But of all the conspiracies or plots which were formed or connived at by the Spanish ministers, in this or any other period, that which was framed against the republic of Venice, by Don Alphonso de la Cueva, marquis of Bedmar, was the most remarkable, and the most important, whether we have respect to its end, or to that complicated machinery by which it was to be accomplished. That the marquis was a person of very extraordinary abilities sufficiently appears from this circumstance, that, at a time when the cabinet of Madrid had an option of distinguished abilities, he was appointed ambassador in ordi-

racy against James VI. king of Scotland, he found him reading a Latin book, De Conjurationibus. The earl had been a professor of philosophy in Italy, from whence he had just returned.

* Unde feritur eò tendit gestitque coire. Lucret.

nary

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nary at Venice, of all the courts of Europe the most refined in its politics, and determined in its counsels. From an intimate acquaintance with ancient as well as modern history, which he read with the eyes of a philosopher and statesman, and much observation on the scene of human life, in which he was at once an important actor and judicious spectator, he acquired a sagacity to which the council of Spain looked up with an almost superstitious veneration. To a deep insight into the nature of political affairs, he added those qualities that are so requisite in a practical politician; a facility of speaking and writing with an inexpressible grace; a quick discernment of characters; an air and manner always frank and unreserved; and at the same time such force of mind, that, under the most trying feelings of the heart, and the severest agitations of the passions, he betrayed not the smallest symptom of perturbation; but, on the contrary, retained the most unequivocal appearance of perfect serenity*. With these qualities, which distinguished his character, he possessed in an eminent degree another, which is common to all Spaniards; a zeal for the glory of the monarchy, and the honour of the Spanish name,

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* Conjuration des Espagnols, &c. St. Real.

which

which he conceived, had lately been impaired, particularly by the restitution of Vercelli, at the instance of France to the duke of Savoy. The marquis was willing to revive its lustre by the total ruin of a power that had contributed so greatly to its decay, the republic of Venice. He was invited to attack this state by various circumstances: the war with the Austrians had drained Venice both of arms and men; the fleet was confined to Istria, the seat of the war; the land army was equally distant; and the exigencies of war had occasioned the most oppressive taxes, which, as the people suspected, were not wholly applied to the public use. The marquis, therefore, persuaded himself, that the revolution he had planned, would not only be practicable, but to the generality of the people, acceptable; nay, of the nobility, not a few were discontented with the government, and rejoiced in all the misfortunes of the state, as the effects of measures which they had disapproved. The more necessitous of that order, the marquis knew, by experience, might be prevailed on, if not to act a part in the tragedy, yet to give such intelligence, as might in reality promote the catastrophe of Venice. Another ground of encouragement was, that the flower of the Venetian army consisted of Hollanders and

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Walloons, mercenaries, whose officers, he trusted, might be seduced by the allurements of gold, to betray the cause of Venice, and to espouse that of Spain. The fleet of the republic was indeed formidable, but there too, he hoped to make havoc with the same weapons he proposed to employ in weakening the Venetian army. It only remained, that he should attach to his person, and to the terrible object he had in view, a sufficient number of determined confidants, by means of whom, he might combine the efforts of thousands in a scheme, with the nature of which they were not to be entrusted until the moment of execution. He imparted his project to the marquis of Villa Franca, and the duke of Ossuna. These ministers, who had been bred in the dark and deceitful school of Philip II. and who possessed by nature great subtilty of genius and ardour of passion, were neither surprised at the dreadful design, nor afraid to adopt it. They were delighted with the novelty and the boldness of Bedmar's plot, and, without hesitation, promised to contribute all in their power to its accomplishment. It does not appear that he communicated his design to the court of Madrid; but he was sufficiently acquainted with the ideas of ambition that still reigned in the councils

councils of Spain, to know, that if the project should be carried happily into execution, of which he did not entertain any doubt, it would meet with their hearty applause and admiration.

But while this project was ripening by degrees, the court of Spain was obliged, by the vigour of the young king of France, to make gradual advances towards a general peace in Italy. This would have disarmed the troops of Spain, and deprived the conspirators of those instruments, with which they hoped to subject to the monarchy the states of Venice. Hence the various artifices of Toledo and Ossuna to prolong the war, and to prevent a final accommodation of differences. The marquis of Bedmar had by this time entered into the most intimate correspondence and confidence with a number of men, who, confiding in the transcendent powers of his mind, and contemplating the rewards that were exhibited to their view, were ready to execute his orders with promptitude and alacrity. These men were highly distinguished from the multitude, by constancy in the most trying situations, by unshaken fidelity to their engagements, and by a bold and daring courage. Nothing was wanting to entitle them to the highest

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praise, but the exertion of these virtues in a worthy cause.

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THE principal arrangements in this conspiracy were these: fifteen hundred veteran troops, chosen from the Spanish army in Milan, by Don Pedro himself, were to be introduced into the city of Venice, not in a body, but a few at a time, and unarmed. They were to receive arms from the marquis of Bedmar. But lest any unforeseen accident should mar the intentions of Toledo, five thousand Hollanders, who lay at the Lazaretto, not above two miles distant from the city, were ready to be introduced, man by man, at first, and afterwards, in the tumult and confusion that was expected to ensue, in a body. Brigantines and barks were to be sent from Naples into the channels and ports of Venice, having on board six thousand men. A number of large ships were afterwards to cast anchor on the shores of Friuli. Under the countenance of the latter, and amidst the confusion and horrors to be excited by the former, the conspirators were to act their several parts in the intended tragedy: one was to set fire to the arsenal, others to the different parts of the city; some were to take possession of the mint; some to seize the principal places of strength; and the part allotted to many, was

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to annihilate the constitution of Venice by murdering the senators. Artillery was to be drawn up to the highest eminences, for the purpose of laying the city in ruins, in case the inhabitants should attempt resistance. Field-pieces were to be disposed in different quarters of the city, pointing into the principal streets. And as it was necessary to be in possession of some inland town in the territories of the republic, which might serve as a barrier against the return of the Venetian land army, if called to Venice to oppose the conspirators, and as a magazine for the Spanish army, Don Pedro held a close correspondence with certain officers of the garrison of Crema, who were to betray that town into the hands of the Spaniards. Another plot was yet necessary to give full effect to the grand conspiracy. A port was to be occupied in the Venetian gulf, which might receive the Spanish fleet, if by any accident it should be obliged to seek a retreat, when employed in that sea. There is a place of considerable strength, called Marano, in an island bordering upon Istria, with a harbour capable of receiving a large fleet. The officer second in command in the garrison of Marano, engaged to assassinate the governor, whenever he should receive orders from Toledo,

BOOK V. and to hold the town in the name of the Spaniards *.

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SUCH was the complicated scheme formed for the destruction of the renowned city and republic of Venice: a scheme which involved in its nature whatever human ingenuity could plan, or the courage of man dare to execute, but which failed of success from some of those unforeseen accidents that so often happen to intimidate the hearts of assassins, and to disconcert the projects of conspirators †.

A CONSPIRACY so important in its end, and at the same time so various in its means, does not occur in history. That of Cataline, against the Roman republic, pointed to equal horrors, and to still greater revolution; but

* Conjuration des Espagnols, &c. St. Real. Conspiration & Trahison admirable des Espagnols, &c. en 1618. Historie du Connetable de Lesdiguieres, liv. ix. Batt. Nani. Historia della Republica Veneta, lib. iii. 1618.

† The Abbé St. Real says, that the conspiracy was discovered by one of the conspirators, who was struck with horror and remorse at the intended ruin and bloodshed: Battista Nani, that it was discovered by two French gentlemen, who had come to the knowledge of it, relations of the mareschal Lesdiguieres.

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the means by which he hoped to accomplish it were more simple, and consequently less absurd than those employed by the bold imagination, rather than the solid judgment of the marquis of Bedmar. It was probably in imitation of that circumstantial and interesting narrative which the Roman historian has given of the Catalinarian conspiracy, that the eloquent and profound Saint Real composed his beautiful account of the Spanish conspiracy against Venice. This copious narrative, though heightened in some instances by the colourings of poetry, and the circumstantiality of fiction, is yet true in the most material particulars, and serves, in the words of the author, to display the "power of prudence over human affairs, and the dominion of fortune; the extent of the limits of the human mind, its greatest strength, and its secret frailties; the numberless considerations to which the politician must attend, who aspires to govern his fellow men; and the difference between true and false refinement." It is this last reflection which perpetually recurs to the reader, and strikes him with peculiar force. Nothing but the extravagance of hope, and the blindness of passion, could have seduced the judgment of Don Alphonso de la Cueva, to believe that he should be able, by any efforts of genius, to combine into one harmonious

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machine, so many and such various springs. The various ideas and corresponding emotions and passions, which rise in the mind on different occasions, and in different circumstances, render the views and designs of men fluctuating and uncertain. The smallest incident in health or fortune, is sufficient to shake a resolution pregnant with danger and death. The minds of men are so delicate, refined, and variable instruments, that a thousand accidents disturb their operation. The most fortunate adventurers in life, are those who do not pretend to form, but who have vigilance and sagacity to improve conjunctures. Political revolutions are not to be effected by the subtleties and refinements of a genius profound and metaphysical; but by the boldness and dexterity of a Cæsar or a Cromwell, who know to seize the important moment of decisive execution.

But if so vast a project as the conspiracy against the city and republic of Venice, had not been altogether beyond the reach of human abilities, it might possibly have been accomplished by the united efforts of Toledo, Ossuna, and the marquis of Bedmar. Though the revenues of Spain were somewhat diminished, and a manifest languor and irresolution appeared in her counsels, her military genius

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was yet entire and unbroken; nor in the history of any people is there to be found a greater compass of political ability and art than at this time distinguished the Spanish nation. While the ministers of Spain in Italy, by the most extraordinary efforts to support or retrieve the glory of the monarchy, signalized at least their own ingenuity and courage, the abilities of her ambassadors generally managed the courts at which they resided with equal dexterity and success. The ties of interest and blood, which united the two branches of the house of Austria, obscure the praises that are due to the abilities of the Spanish ministers at the courts of Ferdinand and Matthias. But in France, Monteleone knew how to adapt his tone to the timidity of Mary, the high spirit of Lewis, and the different passions and views of their respective favourites. And in England, Gondomar gained mightily on the favour of the pedantic, social, and impolitic king, by talking false Latin*, with other facetious humours,

Character of the Spanish nation.

* Mr. Arthur Wilson, in his Life of King James, informs us, among other curious anecdotes of that good-natured monarch, that "Gondomar in his merry fits would tell the king, that his majesty spoke Latin like a pedant, but that he himself spoke it like a gentleman." The king, we may presume, accepted this as an high encomium. There was nothing

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mours, and by amusing him with the hope of a marriage between the prince of Wales and the second infanta *.

Digression concerning the character of the Spaniards.

A WAR with the Saracens, prolonged, with few intervals, for eight hundred years, nourished in the Spaniards a vigour of character, a love of their country, and a passion for glory. The necessity of continually engaging, formed as many heroes as there were men in each city: military renown was the great object of their vows; and the tombs of the deceased were adorned with a number of obelisks equal to that of the enemy they had slain in battle †. While they lived exposed to continual dangers

nothing in which James exulted so much as in that superiority which he undoubtedly possessed over most of his courtiers, in literature. "Sir Edward Conway," says Mr. Wilson, "governor of the Brille, one of the cautionary towns, was made by king James, secretary of state: a rough unpolished piece for such an employment! But the king, who wanted not his abilities, would often make himself merry with his imperfect scrawls in writing, and hacking expressions in reading, so that he would break into laughter, and say, had ever man such a secretary, that can neither read nor write?" Gondomar had perfectly understood the character of the king: and he practised on his weaknesses with infinite dexterity.

* Franklyn, p. 71.

† Johannes Genesius Sepulveda de Rebus Gestis, Caroli V. lib. i.

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they acquired that gravity of deportment, that deliberate valour, that perseverance and vigilance, which still distinguish the Spanish nation. Before the ambitious and warlike reigns of Ferdinand, the emperor, and Philip II. the sagacity and vigilance of the Spaniards appeared formidable to the other nations of Europe*. These reigns continued to call forth and exercise the spirit of the nation, and to support, if not to heighten, that national character which had been formed by the wars with the Moors. And this national character still shone forth with undiminished lustre after the imprudence of the court, and exhausted resources, had undermined the foundations of the grandeur of the empire. As prosperous war rouses the genius of a nation, the glory of letters would have corresponded to that of the Spanish arms, had not the progress of taste and knowledge been checked by the tyranny of the inquisition, and that despotism which was introduced into the

* Machiavel says, in his Account of the State of France, that the French were afraid of the Spaniards on account of their sagacity and vigilance. It is true that this account was written after Ferdinand had begun to reign; but it was before the exertions of that prince could have stamped on the minds of his subjects a national character.

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government. But although these circumstances have prevented among the Spaniards the growth of sound philosophy, in their poetry, history, romances, and even their commentaries on the sacred scriptures, as well as on Aristotle, whose metaphysical notions were deemed so orthodox by the Catholic church, we recognize that boldness and invention, that subtlety and refinement which were conspicuous for ages in the military and political conduct of Spain.

THUS, that power of genius and valour among his subjects, which at once adorned and disgraced the feeble reign of Philip III. seems deducible from a train of moral causes, as obvious in their existence as powerful in their nature. But when the reader revolves what is left on record, concerning ancient Spain, he will be inclined perhaps to subscribe to the opinion, that the characters of nations, as well as families, are influenced by accidents anticedent to birth; and particularly by climate, acting either immediately with powerful energy on the fabric of their being, or as a local circumstance leading to a variety of action in the œconomy of civil life. At all times, valour and genius have ennobled the character of the Spaniards. Not the robust German,

German, impelled by the fury of a savage religion, displayed such enthusiasm in arms, and contempt of death, as shone forth in the invincible resolution of the inhabitants of Numantia, Astapa, and Saguntum. A greater hero than Viriatus is not to be found in the history of ancient Rome*. Between the times of the Scipios and those of Augustus, there intervened a period of two hundred years. During this long space, Spain maintained a contest with the policy and disciplined valour of Rome: and it seemed uncertain which master the world was to obey, the Spaniards or the Romans. The destiny of Rome to give law to the nations finally subdued all resistance, and Spain had the glory of being the last that yielded to the Roman yoke. But it was the fortune of the vanquished to receive literature and refinement from the conquerors of the world; and in return, Trajan and Theodosius, added lustre to the Roman purple; and the names of Quintilian, Martial, Mela, Seneca, Lucan, and Florus, appeared in the list of Latin authors.

* This man, who had resisted the Roman arms for twenty years, and who was deemed invincible, was at last insidiously cut off by the Romans, who bribed his body guards.

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ALL the valour and artifices of Spain were found unable to subdue the independence of the duke of Savoy and the Venetian republic. And the discovery of Bedmar's conspiracy was quickly followed by the restoration of Vercelli to the duke, and that of their ships and merchandize to the Venetians. The court of Madrid, at the desire of the senate, recalled de la Cueva; but a commission to act as first minister in the Netherlands, a department which the situation of affairs in Germany rendered equally difficult and important, proved how much they both confided in his abilities, and approved of his designs.

1618. The duke of Savoy and Venetians maintain their independence.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE THIRD,

KING OF SPAIN.

BOOK VI.

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THE astonishing efforts of that extraordinary triumvirate Bedmar, Ossuna, and Villa Franca, to restore the predominancy of Spain in Italy, was an eruption of that ardent spirit which had been bred in times of national enterprize and prosperity. The monarchy, drained of its blood and spirits by emigrations, and by war, was in a state of langour which naturally sought for repose. To maintain the dignity of the Spanish nation in that languishing state, was the arduous task devolved by the feeble hands of Philip on the duke of Lerma. That pacific, and prudent minister, unwilling to expose the weakness of the empire, avoided as much as possible all appeals to arms, and it was not without reluctance that he drew the

sword

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sword which he had sheathed at Antwerp, in the dispute concerning the succession to Juliers, and in the contest with the duke of Savoy. It was his chief study to support the authority of Spain by intrigue, and by external magnificence and profusion. The court of Madrid was the most brilliant in Europe: and a veil of pomp and splendour thrown around all the departments of government concealed from the vulgar eye the symptoms of its decay *. The duke also made some attempts to recruit the vigour of the state, as well as to hide its infirmities, by reviving agriculture, and protecting commerce.

Internal policy of Spain.

THE frequent examples of immense and rapid fortunes, made in the Indies, inspired a very general contempt of tillage, the profits of which, though certain, were slow and inconsiderable. Until the fatal year 1609, Spain possessed a remedy against this evil. The Morescoes, excluded by the laws from America, and from the profession of arms, were not only expert manufacturers, but skilful and industrious husbandmen; but their expulsion was followed by a total neglect of agriculture, and a scarcity of the necessaries of life punished the people for the bigotry of the court,

* See Appendix C.

and

and their own indolence. The duke of Lerma, in order to repair the loss of the industrious Saracens, issued an edict, offering an order of nobility* to every man who should give proofs of industry and skill in agriculture. It is remarkable that this measure, the propriety of which seemed to be founded in the national passion for lofty titles, was altogether fruitless. An exemption from all military service was then promised to all industrious men; but neither had this proffered indulgence any considerable effect. A great part of the land still lay waste, and in the succeeding reign, strangers were invited to cultivate the fields of Spain, with several advantages of great importance.

The commerce of the Spaniards in the Mediterranean Sea having been disturbed by the corsairs of Barbary, Don Lewis de Faxarado, received orders to build a strong fort on the gulf of Marmora. This was happily effected in the month of August, 1613, and contributed not a little to scour the sea from the pirates*. But commerce still languished as well as manufacturers and agriculture, and the exactions

* The title and rank of Esquire. Les Delices d'Espagne & de Portugal.

† Summarium de Rebus Hispaniæ. Mariana.

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of a government profusely expensive, were severely felt by the oppressed people. Nor were the exigencies of the public the only source of those taxes which afflicted the nation. The minister amassed an immense fortune from the spoils of the people. From royal grants, added to his paternal inheritance, he drew an annual revenue of six hundred thousand ducats*. Even the good qualities of the duke multipled the oppressions of his administration. His love of splendour and magnificence, his liberalities to his servants, his dependents, and to all men who had recourse to his bounty, rendered his paternal inheritance wholly inadequate to his constant profusion, which he supported at the expence of the public. The great offices of state too, he either seized himself or bestowed on particular favourites. And although caution and prudence are qualities generally and justly ascribed to the duke of Lerma, in the distribution of offices, he was not always governed by motives of policy, but sometimes those of personal attachment.

Don Roderigo de Calderona.

BUT of all his favourites the chief was the famous Don Roderigo de Calderona, whose singular fortune and fate demand particular attention. He was the son of a poor soldier of Valladolid, and Mary Sandelen, a native of Flanders.

* Sir John Digby's Letters from Spain.

He

He possessed fine talents, and there was something highly interesting and engaging in his manner. He entered on the career of ambition in the character of a menial servant to the duke of Lerma, then marquis of Denia, and gained over the mind of his master such an ascendant as that favourite possessed over the mind of the king. Having risen through all the principal offices in the houshold of the duke, he was advanced by the unbounded favour of his patron to places of great power and trust in the state, created first count of Oliva, then marquis of Siete Iglesias, and acquired an estate of an hundred thousand crowns a year. Agreeably to the natural progress of ambition, Calderona considered all the favours of fortune only as so many steps to farther preferment. He openly aspired not only to a vice-royalty, but to the rank of a grandee of Spain. He was at first ashamed of the meanness of his descent, and affected to conceal it: a frailty to which he afterwards shewed himself far superior, by receiving his father into his family, procuring for the old soldier offices of emolument as well as honour, and treating him throughout life with the greatest tenderness and respect. Though he had risen from the lowest rank of life, there was nothing in his behaviour unworthy of the highest birth. The dignity both of his senti-

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ments and manners was such as might beseem a prince. The vanity of Calderona which had made him ashamed of his father, was now converted, by an excess of prosperity, into a haughty boldness and overbearing pride. His temper, naturally violent and impetuous, was unrestrained by any of those condescensions and regards, which were so necessary in his situation, to soothe jealousy and disarm the rancour of envy. He mingled in all the intrigues at court; he delighted in the exercise of power; his favour was the surest road to preferment, and this he distributed, for the most part, according to his own fancy and caprice, and without any regard either to merit or natural pretensions. He had audiences as if he had been a sovereign prince, held frequent consultations, and shared, in one word, the administration of public affairs with the duke of Lerma. The haughtiness and impetuosity of Don Roderigo was contrasted by that decent moderation which appeared in the whole conduct and deportment of his father. This man frequently told his son, that his bark, which had so little ballast, if he should continue to croud sail, would infallibly be overset in a storm: a prediction which was afterwards fatally verified *.

* Conçales de Cespides, lib. i. capitulo vii. Amelot de

THE nobles of Spain, whose power and influence had been reduced in the two preceding reigns, from the highest to the lowest pitch, were called to the court of Philip III. and many of them enjoyed important political stations. But during those reigns the order of nobility, if it was depressed by the vigour and the tyranny of the court, had not the mortification to see any subject exalted so far above them in the royal favour as to possess in reality the power of the sovereign. To the grandees of Spain, a favourite was a hateful novelty, and the immoderate aggrandizement of Calderona seemed a studied insult on nobility of blood. Nor was the present administration distinguished by any prosperous events which might drown the general murmurs of discontent in the voice of applause and acclamation. The prime minister was accordingly a general subject of satire and invective, both in discourse and in writing. The complaints of the nation served as an engine in the hands of his enemies to effect his fall, which was embittered by this cruel circumstance, that his power was subverted by those very men who were the most bound, by the ties of blood, or of gratitude, to support it.

la Houssaie Discours Historique, p. 142. Las Memorias, &c. con Escolios de Don Juan Vitrian, 11. 13.

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1618. Fall of Lerma.

HAVING risen to the highest power attainable by a subject, and having no farther object of ambition, the duke of Lerma only laboured to establish the authority he possessed in the councils of Spain, on the firmest foundations, and to perpetuate it, if possible, in his family. With this view he introduced his son, the duke of Uzeda, at proper times, into the presence of the king, and used every art to recommend him with effect to the royal favour. And, well knowing that the influence he possessed on the mind of Philip might be either strengthened or overcome by any argument that should make its appearance in the guise of religion, he brought Lewis Aliaga, a monk, from his convent to court, and advanced him to the office of confessor to the king. Aliaga was a man of a narrow capacity, and the duke entertained a high opinion of his probity. From a character of this kind he imagined he had nothing to apprehend. And, as the monk owed every thing to his favour, he trusted that he would be entirely devoted to his interest. Uzeda was one of those insignificant characters, whose understandings are rather below mediocrity, and who are neither remarkable for vice nor virtue. But he possessed in an eminent degree the polished manners of a court, and by his constant assiduities to please, soon obtained as high a place in the affections

affections of the king as Lerma still maintained in his esteem. The bewitching smiles of sovereignty, equally dissolving filial reverence and paternal tenderness, occasioned a rivalty between the father and the son, which terminated in an animosity that proximity of blood seemed only to irritate. Aliaga perceived the power which this dissension placed in his hands, and deliberated whether he should cast the balance in favour of Lerma or Uzeda. The alternative he embraced is worthy of attention, not only on account of its political consequences, but as it seems to prove that there is in the mind of man a disposition to expect, in his own behalf, a higher degree of virtue from others than he is conscious of possessing himself. Friar Aliaga, equally unmindful of that creative bounty which the generosity of a patron so readily extends to the person whom he has already obliged, and of the treachery and ingratitude of his own heart, determined to abandon his benefactor, and to unite his interest with that of Uzeda, imagining that he had more to expect from a minister on whom he had conferred, than from one to whom he owed, the greatest obligations. The duke of Lerma endeavoured to counterbalance the growing influence of his son, by raising up a rival to him in the affections of the king. For this purpose he now

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laboured to insinuate into the royal favour his sister's son, the count of Lemos, a nobleman of high spirit and sublime genius. He hoped to excite such movements of jealousy and envy between the count and Uzeda, as that he himself should be equally necessary to both, and able to hold in his own hands the balance of power between the contending rivals. But the pliant mind, and gentle manners of Uzeda, were more congenial to the nature of Philip than the erect and independent spirit of Lemos. The king was constantly attended by his new favourite and his confessor, and surrounded with numbers of discontented nobles, with whom these men kept up a close correspondence.

In the midst of these intrigues the duke of Lerma, now in the 70th year of his age, solicits and obtains the rank of a cardinal*, hoping

* According to certain authors the duke was raised to that dignity, on a promotion of cardinals, without solicitation, by the Pope Paul V. who was ambitious of having his nephew, the prince of Salmona, made a grandee of Spain. It is certain that the Pope treated the duke of Lerma on this occasion with unusual respect and distinction. By a bull of Pope Sixtus V. it was decreed that no one, however exalted his station, should be honoured with a cardinal's hat who did not go to Rome to receive it from the hands of his holiness. The ring and the cap had been sent to the cardinal

hoping that this religious dignity would prove the means of prolonging his power over the mind

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cardinal duke of Guise and other princes, but not since the bull, just mentioned, the hat. Paul V. dispensed with this regulation in favour of the duke of Lerma. He received a cardinal's hat, as well as the other insignia from the Pope's nuncio at Madrid, the archbishop of Capoua. It is not a little amusing to observe here, the change that time has introduced in the import of certain titles or epithets of distinction.—The usual title of cardinals, at this time, was *Seignoria illustrissima*. The duke of Lerma insisted on the title of *Excellencia Reverendissima*. The church was then in great glory. To be called the *Reverend*, now too common and even vulgar, was at this time accounted a higher honour than to be styled the illustrious.—But both *illustrious* and *Reverend*, contracted by use, an air of somewhat too familiar and common. The cardinals came to be distinguished by the title of EMINENT. According to present appearances, there will not soon be any reason for exchanging this for some loftier title.

The marked respect of the Pope for the Spaniard was matter of great offence to the king of France; who observed, that not the HAT, but only the RED CAP had been sent to the cardinal duke of Guise, who was sprung of a more illustrious family than that of Sandoval, of which the duke of Lerma was the chief. To the French ambassador of Rome, who stated this, it was replied by the ministers of the Pope, "That his holiness had treated the duke of Lerma with unusual indulgence, in consideration of his advanced age; and that he had on his shoulders the weighty burthen of Spain. The cardinal duke was young, and there was nothing to hinder him from quitting France. If cardinal Perron had not already received a HAT, the Pope would

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mind of the pious king, or at least, that it would place him above the malice of his enemies and the enquiries of justice. But it was the fortune of this duke to undermine his own power by those very measures which were intended to support it. The indolent Philip was displeased to be under the necessity of exchanging the ease of former familiarity for those ceremonies of respect which were due to the purple. The regard that had been every where shewn to the duke of Lerma was well pleasing to the king, so long as all that he enjoyed was derived from his own bounty. The respect that was paid to the creature of his power he considered as an homage done to himself. But all his affection for the duke ceased, the moment he attained to an equality with kings, and derived the splendour of his character from another source than the grace of his sovereign. The presence of the cardinal was uneasy to him; and if he received him with formality, he received him also with coldness.

THE estrangement of the king from his old minister was not unobserved by the eager eyes

would make no difficulty in sending him one, in consideration of his advanced age and great merit." These puerilities were in that age considered as matters of serious importance.

of

of the courtiers. The enemies of the cardinal duke, who had hitherto conducted their attacks by regular and slow approaches, now resolved to carry that fortress, which had so long defended him, and in which he still fondly confided, by assault. Upon the plausible pretext of zeal for the service of the king, and affection for his person, they represented the nation as one scene of oppression, disorder, and discontent, and threw the blame of the whole on the duke of Lerma. That minister, they affirmed, bestowed the most important offices on persons who possessed not any other merit than that of being agreeable to his fancy, and the creatures of his power.* And as the appointment to offices was a matter that depended solely on his favour, so the exercise of the power he bestowed was determined by his will; for he over-ruled the freedom of deliberation in the different councils established for the conduct of public affairs, and assumed the prerogative of dictating on every subject. The judges, in all cases where he chose to interfere, being obliged to give sentence according to his orders; the very tribunals of justice were organs of his pleasure. On the distresses of the people they insisted with peculiar zeal, lamenting that the poor of a whole nation should be despoiled of the few things they possessed,

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possessed, and even deprived of the necessaries of life, for the purpose of supporting the magnificence and mad extravagance of one man: a man who by various impolitic measures, and particularly by the circulation of brass money, had contributed so fatally to the decline of manufactures, the ruin of commerce, the depopulation and impoverishment of the kingdom. Passing beyond the limits of Spain, they reviewed the conduct of the duke in the dependencies of the monarchy. The revenues of Sicily he had converted into a private estate. The war in Piedmont, so unavoidable in its progress, and in its issue so dishonourable to the Spanish name, might have been crushed in its beginning by force of arms, or prevented by a timely attention to the situation and designs of foreign states. As in war an able commander makes it his chief study to divide the forces of his enemy, so the art of government consists not in resisting, but in preventing confederacies. Wars which, even if successful, cannot be advantageous, ought never to be undertaken. The lion, said they, in the proverbial manner of Spain, is not honoured by a victory over the Lamb. A superior power, if not greatly deficient in foresight, can never be at a loss to restrain the turbulence of an inferior, without coming to an open rupture, and resting its authority

authority on the doubtful events of war. From Italy they turned the eyes of the king to the seven United Provinces, once a part of that fair inheritance to which he had so just a claim as the heir of the duke of Burgundy. The truce with Holland; the formalities and solemnities with which that treaty had been ratified, and particularly the pompous title that had been given in that contract to the rebels, they mentioned with particular marks of indignation. They contrasted the virtue and ability of the pensionary Barnevelt, with the incapacity of the duke of Lerma, and his indifference to the prosperity and glory of the nation. Unable to conduct the war, the Spanish minister, they said, sought to establish his own power in peace; a peace that was disgraceful in its nature, and which involved in its consequences a greater loss to the monarchy than it had incurred during a war of forty-five years that preceded it! While the war continued in the Netherlands, the main force of the rebels, concentrated in those provinces, acted only on the defensive. But the ignominious treaty of Antwerp had let loose that force on the widely scattered settlements of Spain in both the Indies, which were either torn from the monarchy, or demanded such additional garrisons for their protection, as might have been employed with

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with greater honour, as well as advantage, in prosecuting the war on the theatre of rebellion. If the Spanish crown, in a glorious contest to maintain its just rights, should have proved unsuccessful, nothing more disastrous could have ensued than what had actually happened: while, on the other hand, to have continued the struggle, would have supported the honour of the nation among foreign powers, and, in the end, might possibly have derived some advantage from the chance of war, or that change which is incident to the policy and the views of states and princes. These and many other charges against the duke of Lerma, were constantly sounded in the ears of the king, by his confessor and his favourite, and confirmed by the testimony or the authority of all whom they permitted to have access to his person.

THOUH sovereign princes, from the supereminence of their stations, be naturally capricious and fickle in their attachments*, it would be unreasonable, after these remonstrances, to ascribe the fall of Lerma to any inconstancy in his sovereign. There never

* Go, says Agamemnon to Achilles, if you have a mind; there are not wanting others who will shew me respect, and pay me honour. First Iliad.

was

was a prince, however despotic, so secure against the resentment, so insensible to the applause, or so unconcerned for the prosperity of the public, as to oppose for the sake of a favourite, the general voice of his people. The constant appointment to offices, in contradiction to the recommendation of Lerma, fully illustrated the nature of that reserve, which had given that minister so much pain, and was an unequivocal proof that he had wholly lost the royal favour. In this extremity he laboured to acquire the good graces of the prince of Spain, fondly hoping that the rays of the rising would brighten up the gloom of the setting sun. The count de Lemos, and Don Ferdinand de Borgia, a man of sound understanding, and possessed of talents for business, both lords of the bedchamber to the prince, had been raised to that dignity by the duke their uncle. Betrayed and injured by the cunning of Aliaga and Uzeda, the duke of Lerma had recourse to the friendship of his nephews. He met with virtue and honour where one would wish to find them, and where in reality they are oftenest to be found, in conjunction with vigour of understanding and sublimity of genius. The count of Lemos and Don Ferdinand de Borgia were united by the ties of blood, of friendship, and gratitude to their uncle. They readily

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dily undertook to use their good offices with the prince in behalf of their beloved relation; they represented to his highness the weak capacity of Uzeda; and expatiated on the talents, virtues, and political experience of the duke his father. And their authority and address, prevailing over the subtleties and assiduities of the condé duke Olivarez, consoled Lerma with the hope of living in the favour of the heir apparent to the Spanish empire.

But this intrigue was not long concealed from the king, and, like all the other efforts of the minister to prolong his power, served only to precipitate his fall. The image of death which was held up to the imagination of the king by the court that was paid to his successor, converted his indifference to Lerma into aversion. The count de Lemos had gained so much on the favour of the prince, that he was in the practice of conversing with him sometimes for hours after he went to bed. Orders were now sent to the count to forbear this practice in future; but to these he did not yield a ready obedience. The king therefore dismissed from the service of his highness* four officers of his bed-chamber, who were in the confidence of Lemos, and appointed his cousin and faithful friend, Don Ferdinand de

* Su Altezza, so the prince was distinguished.

Borgia,

Borgia, viceroy of Arragon. The high spirited count, deeming the disgrace of the officers, and the exile of his friend from court, an affront and injury to himself, had the boldness to ask the king his reasons for removing Don Ferdinand from the service of the prince, adding, that if Ferdinand should be banished from court, he would accompany him to the place of his retirement. The king replied in an angry tone, that it was his pleasure to treat Don Ferdinand as he had done; and that the count, if he were so minded, might accompany him in his exile. Lemos was mortified by so severe a reply; yet he made another effort to keep Borgia at court, and that almost in spite of the king. He engaged the council for Italian affairs, of which Borgia was president, to remonstrate against the removal of a minister, who, of all men in the world, was the best informed with regard to the affairs of Italy. The king answered, that he would appoint as successor to Don Ferdinand the count of Benevento, whose knowledge of Italian affairs was unquestionable. Upon this the count de Lemos retired from court, consoling himself with the reflection that he had made no mean compliances to gain the royal favour, but had performed the duties of friendship, and in the whole of his

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deportment maintained the noblest propriety and dignity of character.

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THE magnanimity of the count seemed to arraign the conduct of the duke of Lerma, who, even after the disgrace of his friends, lingered about the Escurial, and manifested the most eager desire still to hold his office. The king, finding that no marks of his disgust, however striking, were able to induce his old minister to prevent the disgrace of a formal dismission, in a billet, written with his own hand, ordered him in express terms to withdraw himself from Madrid; but permitted him to retire to whatever place he should chuse, and to enjoy in peace the effects of his former bounty. In these circumstances the duke condescended to appear as a suppliant at the feet of the treacherous Aliaga. He intreated the monk to intercede in his behalf with the king. It is superfluous to inform the reader that this humble application was wholly fruitless. He then sent a message to his brother, the archbishop of Toledo, whom he had raised to the high dignity and opulence he enjoyed, and who at that time resided at Madrid, earnestly soliciting him to come to the Escurial, and to support him with his countenance, his advice, and his influence with

with the king. The archbishop excused himself from undertaking that ungracious office, by alledging that he was in a bad state of health; but he sent to the assistance of his brother father Jerome, of Florence, a Jesuit, a preacher for whom the king entertained a particular respect. Father Jerome, in his private discourse with the king, endeavoured with great address to revive in his mind sentiments of favour and regard for the duke of Lerma. But Philip did not receive his favourite preacher with his usual affability, nor listen to his instructions with the wonted attention. The Jesuit, perceiving this alteration in the deportment of the king, did not persevere in his commendations of Lerma, and only pleaded, in favour of that minister, for a short respite, which was refused in positive terms.

The duke of Lerma now summoned up all his fortitude, and by the propriety and dignity of his deportment atoned for the meanness of his former solicitations. On the 4th day of October, 1618, being still in his apartments in the palace, he was ready to take his journey to his paternal estate, with a train of attendants suitable to his high rank, when the prince of Spain, who happened to take a walk in the garden, came up to the door of his chamber,

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and calling him aside, conversed with him at considerable length in the language of tenderness and complacency. The duke then went to take leave of his sister, the countess of Lemos, first lady of the bed-chamber to the princess of Spain. Having paid his compliments to that lady, with great respect he went into his chariot, and repaired, for the last time, to the mansion of the king. On his approach he alighted from his carriage, and viewing the royal apartments with an eager eye, he evidently poured forth his blessing on them, and on the royal family. Having performed this duty, he remounted his chariot, and drove straight to Guadarrama, where he lodged all night. At this place he received a letter from the king, the contents of which were never revealed to the curious and speculating world, with a present of a stag, slain by his own hand that day in the chace. Thus both the king and the prince of Spain, with a generosity worthy of their exalted stations, mixed the bitter cup of Lerma with refreshing spices: and as no minister ever descended from a greater height of power, so none was ever laid more softly down*, and few perhaps ever deserved a gentler fall.

THE

* Historia de Don Felippe III. por Don Gonçalo de Cespides, lib. i. cap. 3, 4. lib. ii. cap. 1. 17. Anecdotes du Ministere

1618. Character of the duke of Lerma.

THE duke of Lerma was a personage of a noble mien, gentle manners, and a beneficent disposition. The natural benignity of his heart appeared in the mildness of his aspect, the tone of his voice, and innumerable acts of magnificence and liberality. His promotions to public offices were chiefly determined by political motives and personal friendship. But it may be safely affirmed, that during his administration, all the places of principal trust and importance were filled with persons of extraordinary abilities. The judgments of men are commonly influenced by their natural temper. Agreeably to the mildness of his own disposition, and his love of magnificence, he was of opinion, that the dignity of the Spanish monarchy was best maintained by peace, pomp, and parade*. And though he might, perhaps, have pursued this plan with greater œconomy, as it is certain that his profusion was not the main cause, so it is probable that all his savings, had he been

Ministere du Condé Duc d'Olivarez. Las Memorias de Comines con Escolias proprios de Don Juan Vitrian. Amelot de la Houssaie. Disc. Histor. Addiciones a la Historia de Malvezzi.

* He was very careful to exact every mark of respect to the crown of Spain from neighbouring nations, and sometimes discovered a jealousy on this head which was unwor-

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been ever so much inclined to frugality, would not have been able to alleviate in any considerable degree the distresses of the nation. Though his capacity was but moderate, his soul was elevated, and his mind was firm. If he descended from his natural dignity to humble applications, in order to preserve the good graces of his prince, we ought not on account too hastily to stigmatize his me with meanness of spirit. The greatest po and military courage has sunk under t privation of royal favour. Neither the lute Ximenes, nor the undaunted Albuquer was able to support the frowns of his sovereign. Notwithstanding the invectives of Lerma's enemies, the most respectable Spanish historians*, not only celebrate the beneficence of his disposition, but do justice to the moderation of his power, and the prudence of his public conduct. These, indeed, were afterwards confessed by the whole nation, when the vast ambition, and sublime but irregular genius

thy of a great nation. I find in Chamberlayne's Letters MSS. anno 1616, in the British Museum, the following passage: "The Spanish ambassador complained to the king at Theobald's, that whereas we kept ambassadors at Venice and in the Low Countries, an agent served the turn in Spain and with the archdukes."

* Gonçales de Cespides y Meneses. Don Juan de Vitrian, &c.

of

of Olivarez, by stretching the sinews of the empire beyond their utmost tone, threw it into convulsions, and only rendered the dissolution of its strength more violent and painful. 1618.

The whole employments of the duke of [illegible]ma devolved on his son Uzeda, except that [illegible]vernor to the prince, which was conferred [illegible]on Belthazar de Zuniga, a man of culti-[illegible]d genius, and great experience in political [illegible]rs, particularly in embassies *.

Tragical end of Don Roderigo de Calderona, count of Oliva.

Soon after the disgrace of Lerma, the count of Oliva was arrested by order of the king, and thrown into prison, where he languished for the space of two years. His rise from so low a station to so great a height of power gave birth to an opinion that he was a sorcerer, which his enemies were at great pains to propagate. He was charged with having poisoned the queen, who died in 1612; a charge as improbable in itself, as it was found to be unsupported by any evidence; for Don Roderigo stood as high in the favour of that princess, as the duke of Lerma did in the affections of the king. Many other groundless accusations were brought against him:

* Gonçales de Cespides, lib. i. cap. 4.

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but at last he was found guilty of having been accessary to the murder of two Spanish gentlemen: a matter, which, according to some historians, was never clearly proved. He was however condemned to death, and his estate was confiscated. The evidence on which he was convicted was not direct, but circumstantial; and if we may judge from some of the circumstances left on record, as the principal ground of his condemnation, we may infer, that the deficiency of the proof was supplied by the zeal of both his accusers and judges. The trial and confinement of Calderona were prolonged for two years and six months; a measure calculated to keep alive the general odium against his patron the duke of Lerma, and to prevent the return of that ancient favourite to court, of which the new ministry were not a little apprehensive. During all the time that Calderona lay in prison, there was not one among the multitudes he had obliged, except the cardinal Don Gabriel de Trejo, whose name deserves to be recorded, nephew to the countess his lady, who had the humanity and the courage to attempt his relief, or to afford him any comfort. The cardinal was no sooner informed of the imprisonment of Calderona, than, impelled by a generous gratitude, he set out from Rome to pay his respects to his patron in a dungeon, and determined

mined to move every engine that his utmost efforts could command in order to release him. But the cardinal was neither permitted to visit the court nor the prison. He lingered, however, a long time in Spain, in anxious hope of finding some fortunate occasion of saving his friend; but, on the death of pope Paul V. which happened in February 1621, he returned [redacted]rder of the king to Rome. 1618.

[redacted]ON Roderigo bore confinement, solitude, [redacted] torture, with incredible patience. After [redacted]s doom was fixed, he was visited, at his own earnest desire, by the ministers of religion. His great soul, which had braved all the rage of his enemies with such singular constancy, discovered, on the approach of death, a nobler heroism, in the most perfect resignation to the will of God; and in the most candid confession, and sincerest contrition for the errors of his life. The ardour of his mind was now displayed in the severities of self-mortification. He was covered with hair cloth: he watched and prayed night and day: he afflicted himself with fasting, and with stripes; and, had not his confessor interposed, he would, in all probability, have anticipated the stroke of the executioner, by an excess of voluntary pain. On the 19th day of October, 1621, the first year of the reign of Philip IV. he

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he received intimation that within two days he should die. He received the messenger of this welcome news with a chearful countenance, and tenderly embraced him. He now abstained from sleep and food, and spent his time in acts of devotion. About eleven of the clock on the 21st of October, he came to the door of the prison, encompassed by the officers of justice. Affliction had softened the natural dignity of his looks and mien: and his grey hairs, his beard, and dress, suited to the present sad occasion, inspired with the expression of his countenance to impress the spectators with sentiments of veneration and love. He yet possessed sufficient strength to mount on a mule that waited for him at the prison. This he did with great tranquillity, and passed through the streets to the place of execution, embracing and adoring a crucifix which he held in his hands, amidst the tears and lamentations of the surrounding multitude. The executioner held the reins of the mule, and as he went along, proclaimed aloud, the following words: "This is the judgment which, by the orders of our sovereign lord the king, is inflicted on this man for his having been the instigator of an assassination; and accessary to another murder; and divers other crimes which appeared on his trial: for all of which he is to be beheaded, as a punishment

ment to him, and a warning to others." Having arrived at the scaffold, the resigned sufferer, beheld with a serene countenance the instruments of his approaching death; the chair, the sword, and the man whose office it was to use it. He conversed, for some time, with his confessor and other divines. And, having been received into the bosom of the church, he took leave of his attendants, and sat down on the seat from which he was never to rise. Before his hands and his feet were made fast, he made a present to the executioner, and twice embraced the man, who was bathed in tears, as a token that he bore him not any ill will on account of the office which he was about to perform. Then making bare his neck, he yielded his limbs to be bound, with the utmost composure. The instant this operation was performed, he reclined himself backwards *, and while he was in the act of recommending his soul to God, his head was in a moment severed from his body. As the last impressions are commonly the strongest †, men forgave and forgot the imperiousness of

* In Spain, traitors alone are beheaded with their faces downwards. The Spanish word, is degollar, couper la gorge. The executioner performs his office face to face with the sufferer.

† Sed plerique Homines postrema meminere. Julius Cæsar, Ap. Sallus.

his

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his former conduct and behaviour, and thought and spoke only of that mixture of humility and fortitude, that patience and piety, which he displayed in the last stage of his life*.

THE counsels of Spain had, for many years, been distinguished by a singular union of a desire of power, with a love of peace: but it was found impossible to gratify at once these opposite passions. The intrigues of ambition excited the violence of arms. The commotions of Italy were followed by those of Germany. A war was kindled, the most significant and destructive of all that had happened at that time in modern annals. Famine and pestilence succeeded to the destroying sword, and the direful power of hunger equally overcame the strongest antipathies, and violated the tenderest affections of nature: so bloody was that tragedy which concluded so happily for the liberties of Europe, in the famous peace of Westphalia!

THE male line of Maximilian II. having terminated in Matthias, Maximilian, and

* Saavedra Devisas Politicas. Amelot de la Houssaie. Disc. Hist. Article Calderona. Historia de Don Fellippe IV. por Gonçalo de Cespedes, lib. ii. cap. xxxvii.

Albert,

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Albert, who were now advanced in years, without progeny, the succession to the hereditary dominions of Austria in Germany, might have been claimed, on plausible grounds, by the king of Spain *. But a natural love of tranquillity, the desire of preserving in his house the imperial crown, and the dread of [illegible]t dignity devolving on the head of a [illegible]tic, determined Philip to comply with the [illegible]est of the Austrian princes, and to yield [illegible]is pretensions in favour of those of Fer[illegible]nd of Gratz, great grandson of Ferdinand [illegible] prince distinguished by his zeal for the [illegible]atholic religion.

Origin of the thirty years war in Germany, that terminated in the peace of Westphalia.

Between Philip II. and his uncle Ferdinand, instead of a good understanding, there had been a mutual coldness and reserve, which was continued between Philip and the sons and successors of Ferdinand on the Imperial throne, Rhodolphus and Matthias. Philip never cordially forgave the refusal of Ferdinand, to resign in his favour the imperial dignity. Nor, if this cause of offence had been wanting, was any great friendship or harmony to be expected between princes characterized by the usual probity, frankness, and fair-dealing of the Germans, and a mo-

* The son of Anne, daughter of the emperor Maximilian II.

narch

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narch who was crafty and cruel, his politics hollow, his manners haughty and austere, and who, having been born and educated in Spain, despised every thing that was not Spanish. There was also another shade of difference between the Spanish and the Austrian branches of the house of Bourbon. The former was distinguished by an ardent and i[illegible] human zeal for the Roman Catholic relig[illegible] The Austrian princes, in their sentim[illegible] and conduct towards the Protestants, [illegible] on sundry occasions, displayed greater [illegible] deration.

FERDINAND, archduke of Gratz, had imbibed from his mother, a princess of Bavaria, a much greater zeal for the Catholic religion than was common with the German branch of the House of Austria. This part of his character was not unknown to the bigotted though pious Philip III., and religious sympathy conspired with sentiments of consanguinity and family pride, to recommend to the king the interests of Ferdinand, as if they had been his own. The prince, on his part, attached himself to the court of Spain, without reserve. He promised to act in concert with this on all occasions. On this he rested all his dependence. It was the assistance of Spain that enabled him to make head against the

the Venetians. It was to the same that he trusted for support and protection in any future contest. In short, every consideration pointed at this time to the closest alliance. Ferdinand depended on Philip not only for the succession to the empire, but also for that to the hereditary dominions of Austria in [redacted]ermany. Philip, through Ferdinand, had a [redacted]ospect of recovering that influence in Ger[redacted]ny, which had been on the wane since the [redacted]lication of his grandfather.

Philip III. made a solemn cession of all his rights to the Austrian provinces, to Ferdinand and his brothers, and their issue male. But, if that should fail, it was stipulated, that the provinces should return to the house of Spain, of which the females were to be preferred before those born in Germany. On this occasion, Philip and Ferdinand entered into a family compact, the object of which was not only to maintain the strength of their common stock, but to extend its branches over the neighbouring nations. They made a league, offensive and defensive. They engaged to support their respective rights and claims, by reciprocal succours; and to prefer the general interest of the Austrian race before any particular or transient advantage to any of its members. The date of these transactions was in the year 1617.

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1617. In the same year, on the 7th day of June, Ferdinand, with the consent of the archdukes Maximilian and Albert, who waved their right of succession in his favour, was raised to the crown of Bohemia, and in the year following to that of Hungary, with this reservation, that the regal power should remain with Matthias during his life.

THE confederacy between the two branc[h] of the house of Austria, and the steps t[hat] had been taken to continue in that family [the] imperial dignity, inflamed the jealousy t[hat] had long prevailed of Austrian ambition, and diffused among the Protestants of Germany a general alarm. Ferdinand had banished from his dominions all who persevered in the open profession of the reformed religion: a severity which prognosticated all the cruelty of religious zeal, wherever his power should be established. The apprehensions of men were increased, when they considered his strict alliance with the Catholic king, with whom he was connected by blood, by religion, and by interest. As he depended for support chiefly on the treasure and arms of Spain, so it was probable, he would be governed chiefly by Spanish counsels, whose constant aim was to wreathe around the necks of mankind the yoke of religious

religious and civil tyranny. As the power of the emperor would be strengthened by an alliance, or rather a species of union with the vast monarchy of Spain, so his claims, it was dreaded, would be increased in proportion, and the enlarged prerogatives of the imperial crown, if the succession to that dignity should not be interrupted on the death of Matthias, would descend as an inheritance to the latest posterity of the family of Austria.

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But the man on whose mind these considerations made the deepest impression, was Frederic elector palatine, a prince young, high spirited, and in power not inferior to any of the Protestants, the duke of Saxony perhaps excepted. And he, at first, conceived the idea of combining the humiliation of Austria with his own personal aggrandizement. He was very nearly connected by the ties of consanguinity with the prince of Orange, the mareschal duke of Bouillon, one of the most powerful chiefs, and considered as the head of the Protestants in France, and above all by his marriage with the king of England. On the influence of these princes, his natural allies by blood, by religion, and political interests, defined in that age, chiefly by religion, he could depend with confidence. Nor was it to be apprehended that the French king, though a Catholic, would

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would be greatly offended at the mortification of so formidable and constant a rival as the house of Austria. The prince of Orange did not dissuade his nephew, and the duke of Bouillon warmly encouraged him by all means to persevere in his pretensions, assuring him that he might reckon on the support of all the Protestant party in France, as well as of that of the Protestant union in Germany.

The king of England did not conceal his wish that the empire might pass into other hands than those of the Austrians. The Spanish ambassador, count Gondomar, did not openly attempt to oppose, by any reasoning, a change in the king's way of thinking, which was so natural, on this subject. But having gained, by means which the ministers of Spain knew so well when to apply, his favourites, they diverted him from any project he might be induced to entertain in favour of his son-in-law, by insinuating through them, that the best way to effect the desirable purpose, would be, to give his countenance and support to Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy. This restless and eccentric character had, at a former period, employed various intrigues in order to be made Pope. The idea of his being chosen Emperor was not quite so unfeasible.

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ALL the Protestant powers of Europe were jealous of the two confederate branches of the house of Austria. And though the king of France was of the same religion with the Austrians, his political interests were manifestly different. The Catholic electors would be disposed, no doubt, to oppose the choice of a Protestant. But there was no objection to the [redacted]ke of Savoy on the score of religion, while [redacted]elevation to the empire would be a very sea[redacted]ble and effectual protest against a heredi[redacted] title to that dignity in the house of Aus[redacted]. Yet, plausible as the duke's pretensions [redacted]ere, the Spanish ministers were not afraid that, by recommending his interests to James they might do any disservice to the cause of Ferdinand, being well aware that the Germans would never endure that the head of the empire should be an Italian.

THE elector Palatine, finding that he had nothing to expect from either England or France, gave up all thoughts of the imperial crown for himself, but not his opposition to the election of Ferdinand. He visited all the members of the electoral college, and represented to them, that as the present conjuncture demanded, so it presented a fit occasion of giving a check to the progress of Austrian ambition. The Catholic electors would pre-

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fer an Austrian to a Protestant prince; and these were four in number, while the Protestants were only three. But in order to overbalance this inequality of members, Frederic made a tender of his vote to Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, not doubting but he would be joined by the electors of Saxony and Brandenburgh, or that the archbishop of Cologne, one of the Catholic electors, would interest himself in the fortune of the duke his brother, and be forward to promote his greatness. This plan, in which there was not any thing subtle or profound, was the more solid and judicious, that it was obvious and natural. But it was disconcerted by a cause that was scarcely to be expected. The duke of Bavaria, though an ambitious prince, and known to cast a wishful eye on the empire, declined to appear as a candidate for that dignity, in opposition to the Austrians. Being head or chief of the Catholic league, it would have been painful to him, no doubt, to have broken with those princes and the pope, who was zealously devoted to the Spaniards, as they also were to his holiness. It was thought, however, that he would not have stuck at this, if he could have depended with as much assurance on the vote of Saxony, as on those of the palatinate and of Brandenburgh, or have engaged the French king in his interest. The duke

duke of Saxony, who appeared to waver, might have been determined by the determination of the French king. And the policy of coming to an understanding on this subject with the Bavarian, was represented to Lewis in a strong light. But all political arguments were over-ruled by the intrigues of the Papal nuncio and the Spanish ambassador, who insisted that the empire could not be taken out of the hands of the Austrians without the greatest detriment to the Catholic religion. 1618.

It may be doubted, however, whether the forbearance of Lewis to interfere in the affairs of Germany was owing to religious or to political considerations. The kingdom of France was at that time distracted by aristocratical combinations, and religious controversies and contests. There were no standing armies in France, at that time, any more than in the other kingdoms of Europe. The power of the court depended very much on the management of different individuals and parties. The great lords were gratified by the government of provinces, of which it was not always in the power of the king, or, at least, it would not have been safe for him to deprive them. The Protestant chiefs held possession of a number of strong-holds, for the security of their sect

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against the machinations of the Papists. It was, in a word, a kingdom divided against itself. And the great affairs of the nation were conducted rather by management and intrigue than by merely regal or absolute authority. It would have been too hazardous for the king to have taken an open and decided part in favour of the Protestant interest in Germany. The faction that adhered to the queen mother Mary of Medicis, a prisoner at Blois, through the influence and aid of the Spaniards, might have rescued the queen, and reduced the king to a mere pageant of state. Lewis, therefore having declined an engagement hostile to Austria, made a merit of this with both the king of Spain and the pope, "I trust," said he to the Spanish ambassador, "that my brother, the king of Spain, will be well pleased to find in me a good relative and a good ally." And to the pope's nuncio, "I hope that the princes of the house of Austria will acknowledge the candour and frankness of my conduct on the present occasion."

FREDERIC, having failed in both his projects for wresting the empire from Austria, represented to all the members of the electoral college, the expediency of delaying the election of a king of the Romans, till they should see the issue of the commotions in Bohemia.

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THE sparks of discord which in other parts of the empire had produced only murmurs, jealousies, and intrigues, having fallen, in Bohemia on more combustible matter, had by this time blazed into the flames of war. As that kingdom is the highest ground, most mountainous, and, by nature, the strongest in Germany; so its inhabitants had at all times been distinguished by the loftiness of their temper, and the vigour and success of their struggles for civil liberty and religious toleration. It is bounded on the east by Moravia and Silesia, the countries of the ancient Quadi and Marcomanni; on the west by Bavaria, part of the ancient Noricum; on the south by ancient Pannonia, now Hungary, with other provinces of Austria; and on the north by Saxony. It is almost surrounded by the mountains of the famous Hyrcanian forest, whose sides broken into many sloping ridges, intersect this lofty and spacious amphitheatre, and form a landscape, bold, various, and of great beauty. This country is remarkably fertile, and before the spirit of the inhabitants was broken, and their industry checked by despotic government, so populous, that it was computed to have contained about three millions of souls.

Description of Bohemia.

THE Bohemians of those times are represented by contemporary historians, as a people

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of a ruddy complexion, and of enormous stature and force of body; and in their dispositions intrepid, fierce, proud, quick in resenting injuries, of an haughty mien, lovers of a rude magnificence and pomp, and addicted to revels and intemperance. The native language of Bohemia is the Sclavonic, which also appears to have been the mother tongue of the Tartars and their offspring the Turks; and of all the nations inhabiting those regions which extend from the northern parts of Russia to Turkey in Europe*. The metropolis is Prague, a city of large extent, stretching along the banks, and on either side of the river Mulda, adorned with many sumptuous edifices, and particularly two strong castles, one of which was the residence of the ancient Bohemian kings. The rich provinces of Silesia, Moravia, and Lusatia, were dependent on Bohemia, and formed a great addition to its power and importance in the scale of nations.

Origin and progress of the reformation.

THE authority of the church of Rome was never so great and universal as wholly to banish from the Christian world a spirit of enquiry and a love of knowledge. During the thickest darkness of the middle ages, a star

* Russia, Poland with Lithuania, Hungary, Transylvania, Sclavonia, Croatia, Istria, Wallachia, &c. &c.

appeared

appeared here and there in the firmament, which reflected the light of ancient times, and formed a presage, that although the sun of science was set, it would return to enlighten bewildered nations. So early as the eighth century, Claud, bishop of Turin, sowed the seeds of reformation in the vallies of Piedmont, whence they were gradually transplanted into other countries. In the thirteenth century, the Waldenses, or Vallenses, or Albigenses, for by these and other names, the disciples of Claud were distinguished, had spread so far, and become so numerous, that the pope thought it necessary to exert his utmost efforts to suppress them. For this purpose, the first crusade was proclaimed of Christians against Christians, and the office of inquisitor was established. Such a war as had been waged with the infidels, was now carried on against these unfortunate heretics. In France alone, if we credit the authority of Mede*, ten hundred thousand perished by the sword. According to an author less liable to the suspicion of aggravating the horrors of the inquisition, the Valdenses in that kingdom were either cut off by fire or sword, or dispersed into remote regions, or driven to the fastnesses of neighbouring woods and

* Vide Mede in Apocalypsin, p. 503.

mountains.

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mountains. Some sought an asylum in the Alps adjoining to Provence, part withdrew into Calabria, part obtained refuge in Britain, and others turning to the East, took up their abode among the Bohemians, and in Livonia and Poland*. In Germany they grew and multiplied so fast, that in the beginning of the fourteenth century, it is computed there were eighty thousand of them in Bohemia, Austria, and the neighbouring provinces. And so greatly had their number increased in the space of the next hundred years, that they avowed and maintained their religious tenets, in spite of the tyranny of the pope, supported by the power of the emperor. In 1410, Robert I. the count palatine being emperor of Germany, and Winceslaus, who had been deposed from that dignity, on account of his egregious misconduct, king of Bohemia†, the doctrines of the Albigenses were maintained

* Thuani præfatio ad Henricum IV. p. 7.

† Winceslaus was continually immerged in debauchery, and in his fits of intoxication, frequently exercised the most enormous cruelties on people of all ranks. From a strange mixture of cruelty, whim, and indecency, he contracted an intimacy with the public executioner, whom he honoured with the appellation of 'gossip.' His cook having offended him, he gave orders, though they were not executed, that he should be roasted alive. On account of these irregularities, and his selling the rights of the empire, both in Italy and Germany, he was deposed by the una-

tained by the learning, eloquence, and irreproachable lives of John Huss and Jerome of Prague. These reformers were condemned to the flames by the council of Constance, and suffered with the usual fortitude of martyrs. A civil war was kindled from their ashes. The Bohemians revolted against the emperor Sigismond, who, with many respectable qualities, was a zealous bigot to the Catholic religion, and under the conduct of Zisca, defended their opinions not only with arguments but arms. The emperor was defeated in several battles, by this bold leader, who gave law to the kingdom of Bohemia till his death, which happened in 1424. He gave orders that a drum should be made of his skin, and what is equally extraordinary, his orders were faithfully carried into execution. Zisca's skin, after undergoing the necessary preparations, was formed into a drum, which was

unanimous voice of the electors from the imperial throne. Winceslaus was so little mortified at the news of his deposition, that he said with the most perfect acquiescence, "We are overjoyed to be delivered from the burthen of the empire." He sent a message to the imperial cities, requesting them to send him, as the last token of their loyalty, some butts of their best wine. He afterwards shut himself up in the castle of Visigrade in Prague, abandoning himself to the gratification of his appetites. Such a character was not likely to intermeddle in religious disputes.

long

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long the symbol of victory. Procopius, a Catholic priest, converted by the writings of one of the disciples of John Huss, revived the spirits of the Bohemian brethren, many of whom, after the death of Zisca, had retreated to caves and mountains. This champion, who uniting the military with the sacerdotal character, supported the cause of his party with great courage and bravery, fell in a battle with the Catholics. Yet, so terrible had the name of the Hussites become to Sigismond, that he allowed them the cup in the sacrament of the eucharist (the deprivation of which had been the main source of their complaints) together with a general amnesty, and a confirmation of their privileges. But verbal and even written promises are easily eluded, where there exists not any power of enforcing their accomplishment: and a right avails nothing without a remedy. The dispersed brethren ceased to be formidable. Sigismond renewed his tyranny. His immediate successors on the imperial throne were, like him, zealous Catholics. And the reformed in Germany were languishing under the pressure of an arbitrary government, when Martin Luther raised up nations to their aid, revived their spirits, increased their numbers, and exalted their power.

HAD the whole Christian world at the time when Luther began to preach against indulgences been devoted to the Roman faith, however absurd the doctrines of the clergy, and however profligate their lives, it is impossible that he could have met with any considerable success: so great is the power of established authority, and universally received opinion! But the never-ceasing contests between the popes on the one part, and the emperors with other sovereign princes on the other, diminished of themselves the reverence for the papal jurisdiction; and also tended wholly to subvert it, by rousing an enquiry into the grounds on which it was established. This enquiry was facilitated by the revival of literature, which, fatally to the reigning church, explored the foundations both of its powers and doctrines. The discoveries of grave theologians and antiquarians were followed by the ridicule of wit and humour. And the learned and pious labours of Savonarola, Berengarius, and Wickliff, were aided by the raillery of Dante, Petrarch, and Erasmus. In the beginning of the 16th century, the primitive doctrines of Christianity had taken root in most countries in Europe. The materials for reformation were collected, and the foundations laid deep, before Luther and Calvin raised and completed the superstructure. The minds of

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of men being thus prepared, the doctrines of these reformers spread far and near. In Bohemia, with its dependent provinces, where similar tenets had been already adopted, and where ideas of opposition to the emperor, and contradiction to the pope, were so familiar and common, their progress was unusually rapid. And the number of Hussites and Evangelists, (appellations which cotemporary writers seem to consider as synonymous) soon equalled that of the Catholics, and was daily encreasing. From their numbers they derived power, and from power a spirit of persecution. In Prague they committed many outrages on the property and persons of the clergy. The archbishop was driven from the city. And it was evident from the whole tenour of their conduct, that they aimed at nothing less than the whole power of government, both civil and ecclesiastic. Their encroachments received a check from the first Ferdinand, who, uniting vigour of conduct with lenity and moderation, asserted the rights of the established church, at the same time that he used not any other means for reclaiming the Protestants than the influence of authority, and the power of persuasion. He entreated them to submit to the decisions of the Christian fathers now assembled in council at Trent. And on the other hand, that the authority of the fathers might

might have greater weight, he took the liberty of exhorting that venerable order to take measures for reforming the lives of the clergy. He re-established in Prague, the exiled metropolitan, with other Catholic priests; and sent to their aid a strong reinforcement of Jesuits. The labours of these preachers, fostered and encouraged by the countenance of the emperor, sustained a while the declining interests of the Romish faith. The memory of Maximilian and Rhodolphus, the immediate successors of Ferdinand on the imperial throne, is stigmatized by Catholic writers with a coldness and indifference in matters of religion, which was extremely favourable to the growth of heresy. This charge, as far as it concerns Rhodolphus, appears not to have been wholly groundless. For while the Protestant party on the one hand required an extension of their privileges, and the Catholic on the other, begged that the heretics might be laid under closer restrictions, the emperor declined at first to gratify the desire of either. But a fortunate conjuncture gave weight to the applications of the Protestants, and crowned them with success. Matthias, who had already usurped the government of Moravia, Austria, and Hungary, aspired now to the crown of Bohemia; and in order to pay his court to the Protestants, professed the principles of toleration, and

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and affected a zealous concern for all their rights and privileges. By these arts he effectually attached to his interests the leaders of that party, so formidable for its numbers, boldness, and disposition to action. His indulgence to the reformed religion covered the violence of his usurpations with a specious veil: and his Protestant partizans were not ashamed to support his unjust pretensions. Emboldened by the favour of Matthias and the justice of their cause, they took up arms, and in that hostile attitude, presented anew their petition to the emperor, for a confirmation of sundry privileges. Rhodolphus had hitherto exercised over Bohemia the power of a sovereign; and though he had neither inclination nor ability to prolong that power by force of arms, he was not so wholly indifferent to the attractions of a crown, as to resign it, if it could be retained by a few concessions respecting modes and doctrines of religion. The Protestants accordingly obtained a royal edict, authorizing a free exercise of their religion in Bohemia and the adjacent provinces; a consistory or council for ecclesiastic affairs, with other institutions relating both to the government and defence of the churches of the reformation; and also to the establishment of schools, colleges, and places of worship. It is reasonable to suppose, that the utmost extent

extent of this last concession, was a permission to the Protestants to build churches on their own lands. But they, interpreting it in the most comprehensive sense, began to build religious edifices even on the estates of the ecclesiastics: a freedom which appeared to the whole Catholic party an excessive outrage. Complaints of these encroachments having been carried to Matthias, who by this time had succeeded to his brother Rhodolphus, both on the Bohemian and imperial throne, a letter of royal authority was instantly issued, prohibiting the erection of all Protestant fabrics on lands belonging to the church. In consequence of this proclamation, one or two meeting houses were demolished. And the Protestants were thrown into the utmost ferment, their resentment against the emperor being exasperated by the recollection of those deceitful promises with which he had beguiled them when a candidate for the kingdom. 1618.

The Bohemian Protestants by means of their Defenders, whose business it was to watch over the interests of the church, to spread an alarm in times of danger, and to concert measures for common defence*, were enabled to

* The Defenders appear to have been the principal men of their communion, either in their several congregations, or in the different districts of the country.

 combine

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combine in any effort that might be deemed necessary for the preservation of the true religion. Henry, count Thorn, perceiving the force of this great machine, and also how easy it would be, in the present juncture, to set it in movement, conceived the bold design of turning it against the house of Austria. This nobleman was indeed of an enterprizing and turbulent disposition: but in the part he acted on this occasion, he was actuated not so much by any inquietude of temper, as by the passions of resentment, fear, and religious zeal. Deprived of his paternal inheritance by the tyranny of the archduke of Gratz, on account of his stedfast adherence to the doctrines of the Reformation, and driven from his native country, he found refuge among the Protestants of Bohemia. His zeal and his sufferings in the cause of the Protestant faith, gained him the favour and confidence of this people, and the superiority of his genius their esteem. At the time when Matthias deemed it good policy to court the Protestants, he affected a desire to establish the fortune of the count: and accordingly, when he seized the crown of Bohemia, he invested him with the command of Carlestein, a fortress in which were deposited the regalia of the kingdom. But when the power of Matthias was firmly established by the death of Rodolphus, he threw off the mask of good-will towards the Protestants,

Protestants, and openly patronized the faith in which he had been educated, and which was most favourable to regal power. The independent principles of count Thorn, the emperor regarded with jealousy and distrust: for having determined to repress the pretensions of the heretics, he foresaw a conjuncture in which it would be dangerous to entrust places of strength in any other hands than those of Catholics. That nobleman was therefore deprived of the government of Carlestein, which was bestowed on count Martinitz, a devoted instrument of both ecclesiastic and regal authority. The succession of Ferdinand to Matthias afforded not to the exiled count any hope of preferment from royal favour: on the contrary, the bigotry of that severe prince threatened him with still farther oppression. In these circumstances he saw no resource but in civil commotion and revolution. These were justified to the count by the enthusiasm of religion, and the same passion, as has been already observed, conspired with others in rousing him to attempt them*. He flew to

 different

* The principal authorities for this account of the origin of the troubles of Bohemia are these, Annales de L'Empire, tom. ii. Heiss. Hist. de l'Empire. Batt. Nan. Hist. lib. iv. ann. 1618, & passim. Gonçalez de Cesp. lib. prim. cap. v. et passim. Veritable Recit de ce qui s'est passe a Prague

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different quarters of the kingdom, and, hastening from place to place, laboured, both in public assemblies and private societies, to rouse a sense of danger, and a spirit of freedom. The boldness of his genius, and the fervour of his zeal, inspired a like boldness and fervour in all with whom he conversed. The flame spread from breast to breast, formed a concert of wills, and united all ranks of men in a resolution to defend their religious rights with their lives and fortunes. And at his instigation, the defenders, or chiefs of the Protestants, called a general assembly of the states of the kingdom, for the express purpose of concerting measures for the redress of grievances.

THE emperor, considering this spirit of association as the forerunner of rebellion, issued a proclamation, debarring all assemblies of the states, until he himself should come among them in person, or should give farther orders to his ministers. Notwithstanding this prohibition, the Defenders, with numbers of other powerful barons, accompanied with armed servants and retainers, and a multitude of the

Prague le 21 May 1618. Everhardi Wassemburgii Embricensis de Bello inter Imperatores Ferdinandos et eorum Hostes, &c. Wilson's History of King James.

inhabitants

inhabitants of Prague, convened at that city on the 20th day of May, and having heard a sermon, and joined together in prayer, mutually pledged themselves to defend their religion and their churches, not only in Prague, but in every part of Bohemia. It was also resolved to publish to all the world an account of their present conduct and future views. A manifesto was drawn up for this purpose. The exordium contained the strongest expressions of loyalty to the emperor, as king of Bohemia. The general estates lamented the dangers which obliged them to take measures that appeared to supersede an authority they wished to preserve inviolate. Their only design was to frustrate the pernicious projects of certain seditious and turbulent spirits, who had sworn the ruin of their liberties, and of the fundamental laws of the kingdom; who had so far abused the confidence of the emperor and of Ferdinand, as to persuade these princes to march against Bohemian subjects at the head of hostile armies; in order to seize Prague; to kill or imprison the greater number of the nobles, and deputies of states; to raze their churches; and to abolish the free exercise of their religion*. This manifesto

Manifesto of the Bohemians.

* Everhardi Wassemburgii Embricensis Commentarium de Bello inter Imperatores Ferdinandos II. & III. & eorum Hostes.

BOOK VI. being read aloud, was approved by the states, and a general murmur of applause was heard amongst the people.

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In the midst of these transanctions, an order arrives from the imperial ministry, commanding the Protestant leaders to disperse, and to retire to their respective habitations. Upon this, count Thorn, attended by a number of other barons on horseback and in armour, rides up to the castle, and having secured its gates, proceeds immediately to the hall, in which the ministers of Matthias were assembled in council on the present important emergence. Invective and altercation were soon followed by blows: and the counts Martinitz, Slavata, and Fabritius, the imperial deputies, were thrown headlong out at the windows. Though they fell from an height of sixty feet, and that several shots of musquetry were fired at them as they fell, they escaped, not only with their lives, but free from any material harm. The Catholics considered this remarkable preservation of these three men as a miracle wrought by heaven in support of the Romish faith. Minute descriptions are accordingly given, in the writings of those times, of the wall of the castle of Visigrade, and of the tremendous precipice which intervenes between the bottom

tom of the wall and the ditch. But Protestant writers disapprove the alledged miracle, by observing that the spot on which the Catholics fell, was covered deep with dung, and mud, and leaves of trees.

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Revolt of Bohemia.

THE Bohemians, now involved in the guilt of rebellion, determined to persevere, and to seek from their own valour and good fortune for that indemnity which they had but little reason to look for at the hands of Matthias, and still less from those of his successor. Their minds opened to greater views than those they had entertained on the first alarm of danger; and they now resolved to vindicate by the sword, not only their religious, but their civil privileges. In this resolution they were encouraged, whether they surveyed the internal situation of their own kingdom, or cast their eyes abroad upon foreign states. There was nothing in Bohemia to resist their united force. Matthias, declining in health as in years, was not able, and perhaps would not be very willing to maintain, in opposition to the just pretensions of a generous people, an arbitrary jurisdiction that must soon devolve to an ambitious rival and hated successor. The country was naturally strong and fertile, the people high spirited and warlike, and ready to encounter danger and death in defence of

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their religion. If, passing from their own, they contemplated the state of other kingdoms, circumstances not less animating presented themselves to their view, and fanned that generous fire which glowed in their breasts. The contagion of example, which more than reason governs the world, displayed its full force on this important occasion. The Venetian republic, and the duke of Savoy, had of late maintained their independence in opposition to the pretensions and power of that civil and religious tyranny, with which the Bohemians were now called to struggle. The Protestants of France formed of themselves, as it were, a separate state in the midst of a mighty kingdom. And the United Provinces of the Netherlands, in spite of the veteran armies of Spain, and the gold of the western world, had risen from the lowest and most distressing circumstances that could be imagined, to the greatest height of liberty and power. These circumstances were ever present to the minds of the Bohemian leaders, and formed the chief topic in their public harangues, as well as in their writings, which were circulated all over the kingdom by means of the press, and which were full of eloquence and vigour. And as divers states animated the Bohemians by their example, so all Protestant powers, it was probable, would support them with

with more substantial assistance. The sympathy of religion would render theirs the interest of nations: and their companions at the altar would be their fellow-soldiers in the field of battle *.

The Bohemians having determined to insist on the restoration of their ancient laws and constitution, expelled the old garrison of the castle, (which was the royal palace,) and replaced it by another in which they could confide. They appointed thirty persons to govern Bohemia, with the title of Directors. These magistrates having, in the first place, taken an oath of fidelity and allegiance, from the inhabitants of Prague, proceeded to the administration of government. The first act of their power was to banish the Jesuits, and to confiscate their effects. They raised an army of two thousand horse, and twelve regiments of foot, and gave the supreme command to count Thorn. They addressed a manifesto to the emperor; to the states of Silesia, Moravia, and Lusatia; to the whole provinces and states of the empire; and to all the world; containing an account of their conduct, and invoking the aid of all the

* Historia de Don Felippe, &c. por Gonçalo de Cespedes, lib. i. cap. 6. Batt. Nani, lib. iv. 1613.

friends

BOOK VI. friends of religious toleration and civil liberty.

1613. ERNEST, count of Mansveldt, was the first who espoused the Bohemian cause, and the last of its adherents who abandoned it. He was a natural son of that count Mansveldt, whom Philip II. appointed governor of the Netherlands. In his earlier years, he attached himself, like his father, to the house of Austria. The court of Vienna was filled with a just admiration of his talents and virtues; and, in a transient fit of favour, promised to invest him with the rights of legitimate birth, and to put him in possession of the estates of his family. But a regard to interest violated a promise that had been made merely from generosity: and as the most violent resentments are those which arise from disappointed confidence, count Mansfeldt's hatred to Matthias was implacable. His aversion to the house of Austria he extended even to their religion. He renounced the Catholic faith, and openly professed the doctrines of Luther. He abandoned the service of the emperor, and entered into that of Charles Emanuel, the most active and enterprising of all the enemies of Austria. But the present situation of affairs in Germany, opened so full a career to the genius, the ambition, and the vengeance of Mansveldt,

Count Mansveldt enters into the service of the Bohemians.

Mansveldt, that he could not forbear expressing to the generous prince whom he now served, an eager desire of offering his sword to the revolted states of Bohemia. The duke of Savoy, who considered the disturbances in Germany, as the surest pledge of his own security, not only applauded the views of the count, but permitted him to levy two thousand men, and also engaged to keep them in pay for him, for several months*. At the head of this small force Mansveldt marched into Bohemia, where he was received with the utmost joy, and instantly honoured with the charge of general of the ordnance. Thus the forces of Bohemia were entrusted to commanders who were both of them foreigners, both men of desperate fortunes, both breathing vengeance against the house of Austria, and both of them possessed in an eminent degree of military capacity and political discernment. Yet between the characters of these men, there was a remarkable difference. Count Thorn, who had the talent of rousing, uniting, and wielding the minds of men, was the best fitted to govern a nation: Mansveldt, so brave, enterprizing, inventive, and refined, the best qualified to conduct an army. The military talents of this extraordinary person shone forth, indeed, beyond those of all his

Characters of the counts Thorn and Mansveldt.

* Butt. Nani, lib. iv. 1618.

cotem-

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cotemporaries. Nor did ever any hero, in any age, exhibit greater boldness in encountering, or greater dexterity in escaping from danger. These fierce commanders take the field at the head of separate armies. The flag of rebellion is displayed throughout all Bohemia, and by a powerful contagion, incites a general insurrection in Silesia, Moravia, Lusatia, Hungary, and the Upper Austria*.

Embarrassment of the emperor Matthias.

THE news of this revolution distracted the emperor with opposite passions. The idea, which so naturally presents itself to monarchs in similar circumstances, occurred first to Matthias. But coercive measures might be as fatal to his own power as to the liberty of Bohemia. He was not able to take the field in person: the command of an army, would of course be claimed by Ferdinand: and so powerful an engine would place in the hands of that prince the whole authority of government. Moved by this consideration, he wrote, in the style of the Catholics of those times, a paternal letter, requiring the evangelical states of Bohemia to lay down their arms, and disband their troops, promising them, in case of obedience, indemnity and protection. This offer the revolted provinces regarded not as a

* Rushworth's Coll. vol. i. p. 7, 8.

mark

mark of lenity, but as a proof of weakness*. They despised it so much, that they disdained to answer it. Matthias then forbade all levies of troops in the empire, without the imperial permission, and published to the world an elaborate account of the Bohemian revolt. A paper war ensued between that prince and his revolted subjects; and it was evident that the quarrel must be decided, as usual in such cases, not by the pen, but the sword. Accordingly, with the aid of the princes, friends, and allies of his house, he raised in Germany an army of ten thousand men. The king elect of Bohemia, as had been foreseen, demanded the command of this force, and obtained it; but with such restrictions as betrayed the jealousy of the old emperor, and left little more to the nominal chief than the shadow of power. Ferdinand declined the exercise of so limited an authority, and this the rather, that it would tend to heighten the disgust of the emperor, and might even induce him to take measures for disappointing his expectations of the imperial crown. The command of the army was, therefore, with the consent of Ferdinand, entrusted in the hands of the famous count Bucquoy. This general took the field without delay, and, having reduced the town of

* Historia de Don Felippe III., por Gon de Cesp. lib. i. cap. 6.

Teutsbrod,

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Teutsbrod, fixed his head-quarters in Budovits, the only place of strength that now remained to the emperor in Bohemia. Count Thorn advanced against Bucquoy, and reduced Krumlaw, with the suburbs of Budovits, and held that city in close blockade. Various skirmishes happened of course between the opposite armies: and fortune inclined sometimes to the one side, sometimes to the other.

1618. Count Bucquoy appointed to the command of the imperial army.

Various skirmishes between the imperialists and the Bohemians.

WHILST count Thorn was thus employed, in watching the motions of the imperial general, Mansveldt carried on with success the siege of Pilsen. This city was important for its situation, as it commanded an extensive and fertile tract of country along the course of a branch of the Mulda; and also contained great stores and treasures. For this being the only place in that quarter of the kingdom, where the power of the Catholic predominated over that of the Protestant inhabitants, thither the Jesuits and priests, and many of the richest citizens of the Bohemian capital had retired with their most valuable effects. The conditions on which the inhabitants of Pilsen surrendered, after an obstinate resistance, were, that they should maintain, two companies of evangelical soldiers; redeem the city from plunder by sixty thousand florins; and take

take an oath of fidelity and allegiance to the Protestant states of Bohemia. Several Catholic soldiers, as well as citizens, preferred exile, with the loss of all their goods, to this last condition. Mansveldt having thrown into the city a strong garrison of both horse and foot, continued his route in Bohemia, and took several places almost without resistance.

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The emperor makes overtures for peace.

During these transactions, continual overtures were made on the part of the emperor for peace. Matthias appeared in the singular character of a suppliant for power. He condescended to address many promises and flattering expressions of regard to individuals *. The evangelical states had at first, as has been already observed, treated the emperor's advances towards a reconciliation with a contemptuous silence; but after he had drawn his sword, he became a more respectable correspondent, and they deigned to honour him with a letter. This letter contained very singular matter. The whole was a bitter complaint of the ravages committed by the imperial troops in the kingdom of Bohemia. Matthias answered, that he was sorry for what had happened,

* Hist. du Regne de Louis XIII. Roy de France, & des principaux Evenements arrivez pendant ce Regne dans tous les Pais du Monde.

but

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but that he would be under the necessity of sending more troops among them if they should refuse to lay down their arms. The Bohemians at this time endeavoured to incline the emperor to peace, by the mediation of the archdukes his brothers; and it is probable, that could they have obtained the restoration of their ancient constitution, and the establishment of the Protestant religion, they would have been willing to leave to Matthias, or to Ferdinand, all the power of a feudal king. But neither was the emperor inclined to rest contented with so confined an authority; nor, perhaps, could the difference have been composed if he had. All confidence between the contending parties was lost: and the matter now in dispute, was, which should retain the power of the sword? an arduous question, and which an appeal to the sword itself, could alone determine.

Death of Matthias, and succession of Ferdinand.

MATTHIAS had laboured long under bodily infirmities and anxious cares, when the stroke of death laid him at rest, on the 20th of March, 1619. Ferdinand, his successor, doubtful of his ability to reduce his subjects to obedience by force of arms, attempted to gain their confidence and voluntary submission, by argument and persuasion, and acts expressive of a tender regard for their happiness. He commanded

commanded Bucquoy to cease from all hostilities, and gave orders for a general suspension of arms throughout all his dominions. To all his revolted subjects he offered pardon and oblivion, a full confirmation of their privileges, and a full toleration in matters of religion. He added many expressions of goodwill, and earnestly exhorted them to tread in the paths of peace. The exhortations of Ferdinand were not more successful than those of his predecessor. Count Thorn having taken Iglaw, a frontier town in Moravia, with several other places, and being reinforced by troops, not only from the provinces dependent on Bohemia, but also from Hungary, at the solicitation of several Austrian barons drew near to the Danube. Having been furnished with boats by those who favoured his cause, he crossed that river with all his forces, and carried terror into the city of Vienna, as well as all the adjacent country. The whole garrison of Vienna amounted only to fifteen hundred foot and two hundred horse. This small force was under the necessity, not only of guarding the city from external attacks, but also from internal sedition: for count Thorn had a numerous party within the walls of Vienna, who had engaged to facilitate its reduction by securing one of the principal gates. Had that commander advanced on the present

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occasion with his usual celerity, the possession of the Austrian capital would, in all probability, have fixed the independency of the Bohemian states, and drawn after it other important revolutions. But trusting to the terror of his arms, and the influence of his partizans, he hoped to reduce Vienna even without a struggle. He summoned that city to surrender. But while he lay two days at Fischen expecting an answer, the university armed five hundred students, and a reinforcement of several companies of cuirassiers having passed under false colours through the midst of the Bohemian squadrons, arrived from the grand-duke of Tuscany. At this instant some zealots were in the act of shaking Ferdinand by the doublet, and demanding, with many imprecations, liberty of conscience. The trampling of horses and the glittering of swords and spears relieved the king from the importunities of those rude petitioners, and filled them in their turn with consternation and terror*. Count Thorn now drew near the city, with a design to besiege it; but, by this time, his presence was thought necessary in another quarter.

* Gio. Batt. Nani, Historia della Repub. Veneta d'all an. 1613. Sin' al 1671, lib. iv. 1619.

COUNT

COUNT Dampierre of Lorrain had raised four thousand men in Hungary, with which he intended to join the army under the command of Bucquoy. Mansveldt, having learned his design, immediately resolved to attack him, before a junction of the Hungarians with the main Imperial army, should render their united force irresistible. He was on his march for this purpose, when count Bucquoy fell upon him from an ambuscade, and defeated him with great slaughter. Mansveldt himself was among the wounded, and a great number were taken prisoners. The Bohemian army retreated to Breslaw, the capital of Silesia; and on occasion of this disaster it was deemed expedient to recall count Thorn, to oppose the progress of the victorious enemy. Bucquoy, having reduced several places, retired to Budovits, where he waited for some troops he expected from Flanders*. Count Thorn, having in vain endeavoured to bring the imperialists to an action, but having recovered some fortresses they had taken, set out for Prague, where the reformed of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia were assembled.

* Gonç. de Cespides, Hist. &c. lib. i. cap. 6. Hist. Louis XIII.

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In this situation of affairs the archbishop of Mentz, as chancellor of the empire, proclaimed a diet at Frankfort for the election of a king of the Romans. The differences between the house of Austria and the Bohemians, having ripened into a contest likely to be decided only by arms, it was foreseen, that if Matthias and Ferdinand should be foiled, the king elect of Bohemia would be set aside, and a Protestant chosen by the states in his stead. In this event, the elector Palatine was induced by his friends in Bohemia and elsewhere to believe, that there was no one on whom their choice was so ready to fall as on himself. Hence the zeal with which he set himself, as above noticed, to procure a delay in the election of a king of the Romans. The Bohemian crown would have added another vote in the electoral college to his own; both of which, with those of the other two Protestant electors, would have sufficed for his election. But in proportion as Frederic, with the other Protestant princes, were desirous that the diet of the empire should be put off till the affair of Bohemia should be settled, the ecclesiastical electors, particularly the archbishop of Mentz, a known friend to Ferdinand, were eager to have it called as soon as possible. The diet was, therefore, appointed to meet on the 20th of July.

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In the mean time the Bohemians had applied for protection against the oppression, or invasion of their rights by the Austrians, not only to the princes of the evangelical union, but to the elector of Bavaria, and the king of England. The elector, who was a very artful and refined politician, told the Bohemian deputies, "That the outrage they had committed against the imperial deputies was so great, that there was not a prince in the world that could, with any degree of propriety or grace, appear in their favour. The best advice that he could give them was, to implore the clemency of his Imperial majesty." What the Bohemians wanted was an act of oblivion and security for the full enjoyment of their privileges, civil and religious, in future. If they could have obtained these points through the sincere and firm mediation of the duke of Bavaria, the king of England, and some other princes, they would not have committed their cause to the uncertain issue, but certain miseries and horrors of civil war. But to throw themselves, unprotected by any other powers, on the mercy of so haughty and vindictive a prince as Ferdinand, was a counsel, to which a high spirited nation, jealous of its civil and religious liberty, would never listen: nor did the duke of Bavaria wish that they should. For by this

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time, in consequence of an arrangement concerted between him and the Austrians, who could not without his aid either obtain the Imperial crown, or retain possession of Bohemia, he had now begun to look with an eager eye to the spoils of the palatinate. Yet it was by no means the wish of Ferdinand, who was distinguished by great prudence as well as firmness, to carry matters to the utmost extremities, if they could be composed by what he considered as a reasonable accommodation. The advice of Maximilian to the Bohemian deputies, was therefore artfully calculated to wear an appearance of conformity to the sentiments of Ferdinand, while, at the same time, it had a direct tendency to drive the Bohemians, through despair, to the most obstinate appeal to arms.

In order to prevent king James from taking any part in the troubles of Bohemia, hostile to the interests of Ferdinand, and to keep him in a kind of neutrality, the court of Madrid, who perfectly knew his character, proposed, with much fineness of address, that the disputes between Ferdinand, and the states of Bohemia, should be submitted to his arbitration, as there was not in Europe any prince who united so much power, with so much wisdom and justice. This was quite

quite agreeable to the humour of the *pacific king*. Hay, viscount Doncaster, was dispatched to Ferdinand, and the princes of the evangelical union, with an offer of the mediation of the crown of England*; Ferdinand, who was apprised of the stratagem, received the British ambassador with every possible demonstration of respect and gratitude. But, as to the object of his mission, "I cannot," said he, to Doncaster, "treat with you about the affairs of Bohemia at the present moment: but come to Frankfort, for which place I am on the point of setting out, and we will discuss the matters in dispute in the presence of the electors." When Doncaster arrived at the gates of Frankfort, he was told that it was not permitted by the *golden bull*, or fundamental laws of the empire, to admit any foreign prince, or ambassador, into Frankfort. He retired to Hanau, a short distance from Frankfort, and demanded an immediate audience on the business of Bohemia.

But by this time, the 28th of August, Ferdinand was chosen emperor. Having been crowned king of Bohemia, before the death of Matthias, his own vote, added to those of the three ecclesiastics, gave him

* Jonhstoni Hist. Rev. Brit. liber. xvi.

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a majority. Ferdinand, before his election, gave Doncaster good words, taking care to speak in general terms. But the formal answer he now gave to the British ambassador was, that "The affairs of Bohemia should be settled amicably, through the mediation of the electors*." So glaring an affront would have excited the resentment of most other princes. But James contented himself with a verbal complaint, made on his part by his ambassador at the court of Madrid. The Spaniards, well-knowing that the English king "Had a greater inclination to fight with arguments against the Catholics, than with arms against princes†," were not afraid to hold him up to the derision of all Europe.

The Bohemian states fortify themselves by new alliances, and resolve to chuse a new king.

THE Bohemian states had now been assembled for two months, and in the course of this period, they formed a league offensive and defensive, with the annexed provinces, and another of the same kind with Bethlehem Gabor, who, from the rank of a private gen-

* Brieve Information du Palatinat, 1624.

† "This," says Father Paul, (in his Maxims of the government of Venice) "is his particular genius, he valuing himself upon being an able divine."

tleman,

tleman, had been exalted by the favour of the Porte, to the sovereignty of Transylvania. This prince the Bohemians engaged to support in an effort to mount the throne of Hungary; as he, on his part, promised to maintain their right to elect a king of Bohemia. For they had solemnly resolved never to recognise Ferdinand as their king; but to chuse a Protestant for their sovereign, and to shake off for ever the yoke of all the princes of the house of Austria. They justified their renunciation of Ferdinand by several arguments. "By preserving the forms of free government," they said, "the monarchs in Europe had been enabled to conceal their progression towards absolute power, and insensibly to impose the yoke of slavery on their unguarded subjects. The election of Ferdinand, however formal it might appear, was certainly no other than an act of authority. Matthias, in the fullness of his power, had nominated his successor on the throne, and no individual had dared to oppose his will. Thus it was that the house of Austria, trampled on the liberties of a free people, and abused the power which was entrusted in their hands for the public good, for the purpose of perpetuating it in their own family. But waving the question concerning the validity of his election, they maintained that

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Ferdinand had forfeited all title to the crown, by violating the privileges of the states, particularly by endeavouring to fortify himself on the throne, by means of foreign aid; to controul Germans by the arms of Spaniards." These were grave and solid reasons, but they added yet another, which appears very extraordinary, and even somewhat ludicrous; they said they had a right to chuse a new king, because Ferdinand had smoothed his way to the crown of Bohemia by means of Spanish gold; insinuating, that if they had sworn allegiance to that prince, they had been bribed to do so*.

Such were the reasons of the Bohemians for deposing their king. Their motives for electing another were equally cogent. As they had not yet experienced the inconveniencies of an aristocracy, the election of a king did not seem necessary for the purpose of internal government, nor were they so much attached to regal dignity as to choose a king merely for the pomp and parade of a court. But the vigour of the prince who claimed the throne, made it necessary for them to form by all means powerful alliances and connections. They made a tender of their crown first to

* Harte's History of Gustavus Adolphus.

the

the duke of Savoy. That prince had already given them proofs of his good-will; and his superior genius seemed necessary to defend them against the threatened danger. But the duke, to the astonishment of the world, declined to accept the crown, though he applauded the generous spirit of the Bohemians, and exhorted them to persevere in the noble course on which they had entered*. They next cast their eyes on the elector of Saxony; but the hope of the succession to the duchy of Cleves restrained that prince from opposing the house of Austria. They now made an offer of the Bohemian throne to the elector Palatine. The spirit and zeal of this prince seemed not unworthy of a crown; and by his own force, and his connection with prince Maurice†, and the king of

* This account of the matter is given on the authority of a senator of Venice, the celebrated historian, Battista Nani, lib. iv. 1619. Other writers tell us, that there were three competitors for the Bohemian crown, among whom, was the duke of Savoy. They think it highly incredible that such a character as the duke of Savoy, who had flattered himself with hopes of obtaining the papacy, and the Imperial crown, should be deterred from accepting the crown of Bohemia, by the consideration of any difficulty that might arise in procuring it. But Battista Nani, who possessed the means of being well informed in all that relates to the politics of Charles Emanuel, speaks positively on the subject.

† His uncle.

England,

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England, they imagined he would be enabled to preserve it. Frederic, though young, and full of spirit and ambition, insomuch that he had raised his views even to the imperial dignity, did not accept an inferior crown, when it was in his power, without anxious hesitation. When private persons meet with obstacles to their ambitious designs, they can abandon them with safety. The prince who aspires to a crown is in a very different situation. For him there is no retreat: no medium between complete ruin and the highest degree of elevation. These reflections did not escape the agitated mind of Frederic, and while these were uppermost, the helpless state of the princess, his wife, whom he adored, and his infant children, came full in his view, and inclined him, for a moment, rather to forego the throne of Bohemia, than to risk the loss of his hereditary electorate. These impressions were seconded by the arguments of the princess dowager Palatine, his mother, the wise and virtuous Louisa Juliana of Nassau. "Think, my son," said she, with tears in her eyes, "think of the mighty power of the house of Austria, her immense treasures, her numerous and warlike troops, her able generals, and brave officers. Though the affairs of the empire be at present in a state of distraction, order may soon be restored. The Catholic powers will rally around the

The elector Palatine, to whom a tender was made of the crown of Bohemia, hesitates about the acceptance of it.

the Pope in defence of Ferdinand. France, the most powerful enemy of Austria, is torn by contending factions, which the court of Madrid will continue to incite. The king evidently meditates the humiliation of the Protestant party, and can never be pleased with the aggrandizement of the Palatine family, which, in preceding reigns, was so great a support to the Huguenots—you reckon on the assistance of the king of England. This might seem natural, if you ought not to know him better. Your father-in-law is too much devoted to amusement and idleness ever to break with Spain.—Perhaps you may expect more from the states general and my brother, the prince of Orange. But I cannot help fearing that the states might be well enough pleased that the Palatinate should become the theatre of war rather than the United Provinces. The houses of Saxony and Bavaria, jealous of the advancement of yours, will come to an understanding with the emperor. They will co-operate with him for the purpose of driving you out of Bohemia.—Place not any confidence, my son, on the promises of the Protestant union, composed of individuals having almost all of them separate interests. Some of them will be won by the emperor; others, when they find the expences of the war devolved on their shoulders, while

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while you alone are to reap the benefit, will be disgusted. The prince of Transylvania is light and inconstant. If your enterprize should succeed, he will be your friend and ally. But in the event of any discomfiture and disgrace he will make up matters, without the least hesitation, with the emperor, who will hold out advantageous terms. The Bohemians too are a fickle and a turbulent race. Do not imagine that they will be more quiet and tractable under your government than they were under that of Ferdinand. Dissatisfied with every existing authority, they will still look about for another king. But granting that you might reasonably count on the support of your relations, friends, and the powers jealous of the greatness of Austria, you have neither money nor troops adequate to so great a conflict. They will not adhere to your cause any longer than your affairs are in a hopeful train. Should the tide of success turn, Ferdinand would begin immediately to play the emperor. Nor would his edicts be less formidable than his arms*." Very different from the counsel of his mother was that which was given to Frederic by the princess Elizabeth of England, his wife. She

* Memoires de Louise Juliane, page 141. Puffendorf Comment. Rer. Succicorum, lib. 1.

entreated

entreated and conjured her affectionate and fond husband not to reject what was so happily offered to his acceptance. And, as the passions are always very ingenious, not only in finding out means of support, but also of excuse and justification, she observed, according to the genius of the age, that to take part with the Bohemians, in the way they desired, was a religious duty. "I would sacrifice," said she, "the whole of my jewels, even the last in my possession, in defence of so just and so Christian a cause as that of the Bohemians." The elector Palatine, divided between the opinions of his mother and his wife, though inclining strongly to that of the latter, looked with anxiety to the part that should be taken by other relatives and friends who had it more in their power to afford him aid and protection.

As the contest between Ferdinand and the Bohemians interested all nations, it was made at the desire of king James a subject of discussion in his privy council, and particularly whether he ought, either in duty or policy, to countenance and support his son-in-law, if he should accept the crown of Bohemia. Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, who was unable to attend the council through indisposition, sent his opinion on the question to be agitated, to the

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the secretary of state in writing. This prelate, who was a zealous Protestant, observing how much the Pope was in danger, at the present crisis, of losing his authority over the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, and besides these, some fine and extensive provinces, declared his conviction that the time was at hand for the fulfilment of the prophecy in the Apocalypse, "That the kings of the earth who had committed fornication with the great whore should abandon and hate her, and make her desolate and naked*." After setting forth the political considerations that urged the king to take part with the Bohemian states against the haughty and cruel Ferdinand, among which, the indignities shewn to his ambassador, Doncaster, were not forgotten, he recommended, for the purpose of raising a subsidy to the Palatine, the calling of a parliament, which, in such a cause, would not withhold it. "It had happened, by a particular interposition of Providence, that the late queen had left many valuable jewels, which were at that moment in the Tower of London. Perhaps they could not be put to a better use than to employ any sum they might fetch in succouring the daughter of the good princess who had left them. The Palatine should be

* Revelation, chap. xvii.

enabled

enabled to follow the divine vocation with which he was called. The whole nation ought to join unanimously in so just an undertaking. "Let the whole world see, that when the voice of God calls, we are not asleep *."

James, who had written a commentary on the Revelation, and proved the Pope to be Antichrist, knew as well who was meant by the "Great whore, and the kings that had committed fornication with her," as the archbishop of Canterbury. Had he been, at bottom, a pious prince, he would as readily have flown to the aid of Frederic, as Philip III. of Spain did to that of Ferdinand. But, though a polemical divine, he does not appear to have been at all tinctured with real devotion. All his religious zeal, like that of other controversialists, evaporated in the pedantry and pride of disputation. And he was as backward to draw his sword against "The Great Whore," as he was forward to attack her with his pen. "I would not," said he, "advise the elector Palatine to burn his hand by grasping at a crown placed in the midst of a fiery furnace. The states of Bohemia went to serve him as the ape did the cat, when it

* Rushworth's Historical Collections, 1619.

 borrowed

BOOK VI. borrowed her paw to take some chesnuts out of the fire."

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On the other hand, Frederic was encouraged to accept the proffered crown by the princes of the Protestant union, and his uncles, prince Maurice, and the mareschal duke of Buillon, particularly the latter. "To hesitate about the acceptance of a crown," said the duke, "is to proclaim one's self unworthy of wearing, and incapable of maintaining it*.

Frederic, determined to hesitate no longer, having committed the government of the Palatinate to the duke of Deuxponts, and the charge of his younger children, whom he left at Heidelberg, to the electress dowager, his mother, set out for Bohemia, escorted by ten thousand foot and two thousand horse. He was accompanied by his lady, Elizabeth, and the electoral prince, their eldest son, the princes of Anhalt, and many other persons of great distinction. On the 4th of November he was crowned at Prague, as much as possible for a Protestant, with the accustomed pomp and solemnities. Three days thereafter, Elizabeth also, in the same manner was

* Mercure François, 1619.

crowned

crowned and anointed queen of Bohemia.— On the day of the coronation of the queen the new king issued a proclamation, declaring his reasons for accepting the crown of Bohemia. It was a kind of manifesto addressed to all kings, electors, dukes, princes, counts, barons, gentlemen, and in a word, to all ranks or orders in society throughout all Christendom. It concluded with a strong declaration of religious tolerance, and particularly an assurance, that the king would take the Roman Catholics under his special protection, and maintain them in the complete enjoyment of all their privileges

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The nations alarmed at the appearance of a comet.

While the commotions in Germany drew attention from every quarter, and from interest, from affection, or from religion, interested all nations, a comet appearing towards the North in the heavens, aggravated the general gloom; and the minds of men were agitated at once by the alarms of war, and a superstitious terror. A belief in astrology was at this period universal in Europe as well as Asia. Pamphlets were daily published, containing interpretations of the comet. While the vulgar considered it as ominous of domestic and particular events, men of genius and learning, deriding such absurd comments, supposed that a general sympathy pervaded the universe; that nature, at

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certain periods, was in a kind of commotion; and that, in such a crisis, the minds of men were naturally moved also*. And if the languor of inoccupation be the great curse of human life†, it may be affirmed, that at no time was there ever a greater portion of felicity diffused throughout the world.

THE contest between the emperor and the prince Palatine seemed at first altogether unequal. A spirit of disaffection and resistance had gone forth throughout the whole of Ferdinand's dominions. His crowns tottered on his head, and that of Bohemia seemed already fallen. The small army, under the command of Bucquoy, was all that he had to oppose to the different forces of the Palatine, of count Thorn, and of Mansveldt. A new and more terrible enemy advanced upon him from the East. The prince of Transylvania, under the auspices, and with the promise of powerful aid from the Ottoman Porte, marched rapidly into Hungary; reduced the capital; assumed the crown, with the title of king; made himself master of all that was important in the

* Batt. Nan. Hist. lib. iv. Wilson's History of King James, ann. 1619. Hume's Hist. vol. vi. octavo, p. 155.

† See L'Abbé du Bois, and Ferguson's Essay on Civil Society.

kingdom,

kingdom, except Javarrin and Comorrah; formed a junction with count Thorn; and threw a bridge over the Danube, with a resolution to carry the war into the heart of Austria. 1619.

The cause of Ferdinand supported by Spain.

In this extremity, the native courage of Ferdinand was supported by the treasures, the arms, and the authority of Spain. In a cause which involved at once the greatness of his family, and the support of the Catholic religion, the Spanish monarch advanced large sums of money, and levied a powerful military force. A body of eight thousand men marched from the Low Countries to reinforce the Imperial army under count Bucquoy. And Spinola, with an army of thirty thousand, composed of Italians, Spaniards, Walloons, and Irish, prepared to invade the Palatinate *. The powerful aid of Spain encouraged the electors of Saxony and Bavaria to appear on that side which seemed now to be the strongest, and by adhering to which they might look for the highest advantages. The views of Saxony have already been mentioned †. And as to

* Batt. Nani, lib. iv. 1619. Historia de Don Felippe, &c. per Gonç. de Cespides, lib. i. cap. 9. 11.

† A writer of great reputation supposes that the duke of Saxony may have been actuated by a jealousy of Frederic, who

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the duke of Bavaria, he was invited by a promise of receiving the estates, as well as the dignity of his kinsman the elector Palatine. The example and influence of the Bavarian, the authority of the whole house of Austria, and the common interests of the Romish faith, united all the princes of the Catholic league in a resolution to support Ferdinand with their lives and fortunes. The pope, besides his spiritual benedictions, contributed a pecuniary supply; and several ecclesiastics, as well as princes of Italy, followed his example. An army was quickly raised for the defence of the ancient religion. The command was given to

who of an equal was to become his superior: or, that he may have been afraid lest the princes of the house of Weymar, who were the warmest partizans of Frederic, should, by the assistance of that prince, if victorious, regain the possession of Saxony, the ancient inheritance of their family. [Pauli Piasecii Chronica Gestorum in Europa singularium: apud Amelot de la Houssaie Disc. Histor.] It is of no importance to enquire whether these conjectures be well founded or no. It is often a difficult matter, it must be owned, to assign the real motives of the actions of princes, their conduct being often determined by secret, and sometimes trivial causes. As to the matter in question, I shall only observe, that I do not find any historian who is inclined to give credit to what Saxony himself affirmed; which was, that he would support the just claims of Ferdinand, in opposition to the pretensions of Frederic; because a contrary conduct would bring a stain on the Protestant religion. Batt. Nan. lib. iv. 1619.

the

the duke of Bavaria. The protection afforded by the Ottoman empire to Gabor, interested the king of Poland also in the prosperity of Ferdinand; and, in an instant, ten thousand Cossacks, fierce and savage auxiliaries, overran Moravia, and joined the Imperial army under Bucquoy*.

The conduct of England and France in the present contest.

THE eyes of all Europe were now turned to the kings of England and France; the first interested in the fortune of Frederic from the connexion of blood as well as sympathy of religion; the second bound by the strongest ties of policy and ambition to oppose the progress of a proud and powerful rival. But the indolent disposition of James, his reverence for the rights of kings, an eager desire to effectuate a marriage between the second infanta and the prince of Wales, and a conceit withal that the whole world entertained a profound respect for his love of justice and great learning: these circumstances inclined him, as usual, to embrace pacific measures; and he sought to promote the interests of the Palatine, not by the sword, but by embassies and negociations†. Lewis was neither ignorant of the interest of France, nor did he want that spirit

* Batt. Nan. lib. iv. 1619.

† See Hume's History of Great Britain, anno 1619.

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which was necessary for pursuing it with vigour. But he was restrained for the present, as above-mentioned, from a rupture with Spain and the Pope, by the internal circumstances of his kingdom, which were very critical. It is farther to be observed, that Lewis, who was one of those modest characters that are apt to pay a deference to capacities inferior to their own, was at this time under the government of the duke of Luines. That favourite was induced, by the artifices of the Spanish ambassador, to sacrifice at once the interests of the Palatine and of France to private ambition. The rich heiress of Pequigny and Chaunes was educated at the court of Brussels. It became the policy of Luines, by the favour of the archdukes, to pave the way for a marriage between that lady and his brother Honorius. He entered into a confidential correspondence with these princes, and easily acquired their good graces by engaging to favour, in the present critical juncture, the views of the house of Austria. The veil under which he covered his secret designs from the eyes of this prince, was, that if the elector Palatine should establish himself on the throne of Bohemia, he would undoubtedly protect the Hugonots, with whom he maintained a correspondence through his uncle,

June 1620.

the duke of Bouillon. An ambassador was dispatched

dispatched from France to the city of Ulm, where there was held a diet of the empire. In this assembly the Catholic and Protestant parties were present, and also deputies from corresponding states and princes. The ambassador declared the resolution of Lewis to observe an exact neutrality in the present dispute, "and expatiated on the misery and folly of war and bloodshed, between parties who were not impelled to hostilities by any cause of mutual animosity or contention. The only quarrel, he said, was between the emperor and the elector of the Palatinate. Let these princes, therefore, fight out their own battles. But if the minds of princes be too strongly agitated by the present conjuncture to embrace such moderate and pacific counsels, at least let not the ravages and desolation of war be spread over all Germany. On the contrary, let them be confined within the narrowest possible bounds: and, as the kingdom of Bohemia is the only subject of contention between the parties principally concerned, so let it be the only scene of all military operations that may be undertaken in support of their respective claims by their friends and allies." A treaty was accordingly framed, in which it was settled that neither the Evangelical Union, nor the Catholic League should directly or indirectly invade or attack any electorate, principality,

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Treaty of Ulm.

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pality, province, or city, of the empire, Bohemia alone excepted.

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THE emperor was now in a situation in which he could act with the utmost vigour. The mere good offices of England were a general subject of derision*. He was secure from the attacks of France. The Protestant princes and states of Germany were animated indeed with an hearty aversion to Ferdinand; but their assembly at Nuremberg had already proved how much they were divided by political jealousies† and religious disputations‡, and how little reason there was to imagine they would ever unite in any effectual measures for the support of Frederic. The treaty of Ulm afforded the emperor a farther pledge of security from their attacks, and set him at liberty to pour an irresistible force into the kingdom and dependent provinces of Bohemia. Emboldened by these circumstances, he thundered forth against his rival the ban of the empire, and committed the execution of that decree to the archduke Albert, and to the dukes of Bavaria and Saxony.

* Hume's History of Great Britain, Reign of James I. anno 1619, 1620, 1621, 1622.

† Hist. della Rep. Ven. Batt. Nan. lib. iv. 1619.

‡ Hist. de Don Felippe, &c. per Gonç. de Cespides, lib. i. cap. 9.

DON

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The marquis of Spinola invades the Palatinate, August.

Don Lewis de Velasco being left with fifteen thousand men for the defence of the Austrian frontier towards the United Provinces, the marquis of Spinola, with a Spanish army, as has already been observed, of thirty thousand men, but these under the colours of Albert, marches directly into the Palatinate, and halts at Coblentz, at the confluence of the Rhine and the Moselle. As this invasion of Spinola was a manifest infraction of the treaty of Ulm, the princes of the Evangelical Union reproached the Catholic party with their perfidy. The elector of Mentz, adding mockery to breach of faith, said that the house of Austria was not bound by that treaty, as it was not comprehended in the Catholic League *. The princes of the Union, alarmed at the proceedings of the Austrians, and provoked at their insolence, opposed to the marquis of Spinola an army of twenty-four thousand foot, under the command of the marquis of Anspach †. This force was joined near Worms, on the first day of October, by two thousand horse, and four hundred musqueteers, under the command of prince Henry of Nassau, and by an English regiment of infantry, conducted by Sir Horatia Vere,

* Amelot de la Houssaie, Disc. Hist.

† Hist de Don Felippe III. por Gonç. de Cesp. lib. i. cap. 11.

consisting

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consisting of two thousand four hundred veterans *. This single regiment with some scanty supplies of money, was all that the King of England contributed to the support of his son-in-law. Nor is it probable that he would have adventured to send out this small force against the Austrians, if he had not, from the timidity, or the facility of his nature, deemed it expedient to make a shew of corresponding to the zealous attachment of his people to both the person † and the cause of Frederic. The Spanish ambassador at the court of London managed so dexterously the hopes and fears of James, that for the small assistance he afforded to the Palatine he made ample compensation. At the very time the armies of Spain were battering the English, and the other friends and allies of his son-in-law, in Germany, Sir Robert Mansell, vice-admiral of England, was carrying ordnance and naval stores to the Spanish arsenals, and protection to the Spanish trade and coasts from the rapine of the Turks ‡.

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When the marquis of Spinola arrived at Coblentz, he learnt that Anspach was encamp-

* The History of King James, by Arthur Wilson, Esq.
† Hume's History of Great Britain, anno 1619.
‡ History of King James, by Arthur Wilson, Esq.

ed

ed at Oppenheim *, a post, one of the most important that could have been chosen either for the defence or the command of the Palatinate. In order to draw the enemy from this advantageous station, and to pave the way for taking possession of it himself, the Spanish general made such movements and such dispositions as seemed at first to indicate an intention of making an attack upon Franckfort on the Main, and afterwards, to make it dubious whether his design was against that city or against Worms. In the course of these operations he reduced the towns of Creutzenach and Altzeim. The stratagem of Spinola had the intended effect. At the earnest request of the inhabitants of Worms, Anspach hastened to their relief with his main army, leaving Oppenheim under the protection of a moderate garrison. Upon this, Spinola, who had set his face against Worms, wheeled suddenly about, and with an amazing rapidity advanced to Oppenheim, which he took by assault, together with great quantities of military stores and provisions. In this important place he formed his magazines; and, having strengthened it by a numerous garrison and new fortifications, threw a bridge over the Rhine, and passed over into the Lower Palatinate. In this principality he reduced upwards

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September 27.

* Batt. Nam. Hist. &c. lib. iv. 1620.

BOOK VI. wards of thirty towns and castles in the course of six months.

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When we consider that this commander not only reduced but kept firm possession of the greatest part of the Palatinate, in so short a time, and in the face of an army equal in number to his own, and, perhaps, not inferior in bravery; we cannot but conclude, either that his capacity must have been far above, or that of his adversary far below the common standard of human nature. All historians agree, that the conduct of Spinola in this, as in his other campaigns, discovered the most consummate military skill; yet their accounts of his conduct are, in several instances, materially different, and, perhaps, all of them, in many respects, wide of the truth. The evolutions of armies, their marches and counter-marches, and all the various operations of war, are not to be described with sufficient accuracy, either from the hasty and partial compilations of the day, or from a comparison of works better entitled to the name of histories. The general himself, or his confidential friends, can alone give an account of his views and designs; and, as to the vicissitudes of an engagement, they are not always known

* Gonç. de Cesp. lib. vi. cap. 12. 13. Batt. Nan. lib. iv. cap. 16. 20. Hist. du Regne de Louis XIII.

even

even to the experienced officer present in the field of action. The utmost therefore that any other person can aspire to, is, to illustrate the advantages of vigilance and foresight; to display the power of discipline, of habit, and of opinion, and, perhaps, to point out a few of those causes which surprise the hearts of men, and fill them with the passions of courage or of fear.

Incapacity of Anspach, general of the forces raised by the princes of the Union.

But, if it is impossible, by tracing the designs, to do justice to the genius of Spinola, it is an easy matter to discover that he had not a formidable rival in the marquis of Anspach. As an example has been given of the capacity of the one general, so an example shall in like manner be given of the incapacity of the other. On the third day after the arrival of the Dutch and English troops, the marquis of Anspach marched, with an intention of surprising Altzeim, at the head of four thousand horse and six thousand foot, with a suitable train of artillery. The marquis of Spinola, unwilling that his reputation should be tarnished by suffering any of the places he had taken to fall again into the hands of the enemy*, hastened to its relief. Anspach, informed of the march of Spinola, suddenly

* Gonç. de Cesp. lib. i. cap. 13.

turned

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turned about to give him battle; but Spinola had by this time learned that the army he had designed to attack was greatly superior to his own in numbers; he therefore drew his cannon up to the summit of a neighbouring hill, from whence it played on the enemy's cavalry, that had begun to press him, with such success as forced them to retreat. Upon this the princes of the Union also drew their artillery up another hill, on the right hand of Spinola. There was a wide valley between the armies, and in the midst of that valley a third hill, covered with cottages and vineyards. By this hill the hostile armies were mutually concealed, and it was only from the summit of this that the one general could review the situation and movements of the other. As soon as the princes of the Union perceived that the Spaniards were glad to fortify themselves in a strong position, they rightly concluded that the enemy were inferior to themselves in numbers and strength; and therefore resolved to attack them. It was agreed on, that the English should begin the charge. Horatio Vere had for this purpose selected eighty musketeers out of every division of the regiment. The whole army, full of ardour, stood impatient for an engagement; but the evening approached, and the men still lay on their arms. The English general, wearied with this

delay

delay, rode up the hill of vineyards, accompanied by the earls of Oxford and Essex, to survey the posture of the enemy. They were retreating in good order, and in deep silence. The foot marched first, the waggons with the baggage proceeded next, in two ranks, as a species of fortification to the infantry, and the horse brought up the rear. In this order they marched with all possible speed to Oppenheim. Anspach was posted nearer to that city than Spinola, and it was in his power either to reduce that important place, or to force the Spaniards, under a mighty disadvantage, to come to an engagement. The earl of Essex flew to the marquis of Anspach, and entreated him with much emotion and importunity to improve the important and favourable conjuncture. But the marquis replied hastily, and in an angry tone, "There is a fort between us and Oppenheim, and we cannot pass to that place without being at the mercy of the enemy's cannon." Sir Horatio Vere exclaimed, "And when shall we fight, if we shun the cannon*?"

The season of winter had now arrived. It was uncommonly rigorous. The frost was so

*This account of the inglorious conduct of Anspach is chiefly taken from the History of King James, by Mr. Wilson, who was an eye-witness of what he reports.

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intense, that the English officers burnt a great many of their waggons; and as to the common soldiers, they lay in heaps on the ground, close together, like sheep covered with a fleece of snow. One would naturally imagine that the rigour of the season would have been most severely felt by the Italians and Spaniards. If we may give credit, however, to the authority of a celebrated Spanish author, those inhabitants of southern climates bore all the severities of the campaign better than the Germans and the English *.

Progress of the war in Bohemia.

WHILE the affairs of the emperor prospered in this manner in the Palatinate, they were still more fortunate in Bohemia. That vigilant prince had learnt that Osman, who now filled the Ottoman throne, had promised to occasion a diversion of the Austrian forces, in favour of the Palatine and Gabor in the next spring, by invading Poland. He, therefore, urged the dukes of Bavaria and Saxony to collect their forces, to advance upon the strength of the enemy, and, by operations equally rapid and decisive, to determine the issue of the war, before time and accidents should turn the tide of fortune, and strengthen the hands

* Hist. de Don Felippe IIII. &c. por Gonç. de Cesp. lib. i. cap. 12, 14.

of

of Frederic. Saxony instantly took the field with twenty-four thousand men, poured into Lusatia, laid Budissen, the capital, in ashes, and quickly reduced the whole province under the authority of the emperor. Having accomplished this object, he dispatched fourteen thousand troops into Silesia. This force reduced Glosgaw, a city on the Oder, which, by opening a communication with the Baltic, secured a firm footing in a fertile and extensive country. 1620.

In the mean time, the duke of Bavaria, at the head of twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse, marched into the Austrias. The Lower Austria immediately returned to its allegiance, and was received into the protection of the emperor. The Higher, at first, disdained to follow this example of submission. A garrison of two thousand soldiers, thrown into Lintz, the capital, by count Mansveldt, had inspired the states with a degree of confidence and resolution, which was not to be overcome by an apprehension of danger, while it was yet distant. But the near approach of Bavaria struck them so forcibly, that, although their force was not diminished, nor that of the duke greater than they had all along suspected, they sent a message desiring conditions of peace. Bavaria, contemning

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their late applications, took Lintz by assault on the 4th of August, punished the chief authors of the rebellion with death, imposed on those he spared the burthen of a strong garrison, and chastised the whole country with the ravages of war. As there was not in the whole province any castle or fortress that was able to withstand the conqueror of the capital, all the chief men either submitted to the emperor or fled into Bohemia. Having thus re-established peace, together with obedience, in Austria, Bavaria passed on, in order to join count Bucquoy, who opposed, with various fortune, the Bohemian army, whose head-quarters at this time was Egleburg.* The count, according to orders from his prince, marched from Langlovits to Budovits. Here he was joined by the duke of Bavaria: and the two generals having had a short conference, the different armies continued their march, by different routes, towards Prague. On the 10th day of October, they both of them, whether by concert, or by accident, drew near to Pilsen. Hitherto their divided forces had reduced every place that was situated in the tracts through which they bent their courses: and the footsteps of the Cossacks were every where marked with blood. But Pilsen resisted

Count Mansveldt amuses the imperial generals.

* Gonç de Cesp. lib. i. cap. Bat. 10. Nan. lib. x. 1620.

their

their united power, being defended by the subtlety and refinement of Mansveldt. The count being summoned to surrender to the combined armies of his imperial majesty, and the duke of Bavaria, demanded a cessation of arms, and proposed a treaty of accommodation. He insinuated, in a letter which he wrote to the duke and Bucquoy, some general complaints of the injustice of fortune, and of his own hard fate, which had doomed him to struggle with difficulties, and to be rewarded with ingratitude and disappointment. The commanders to whom these hints were addressed, considered them as an advance on the part of Mansveldt, to surrender the town and garrison of Pilsen, upon those conditions which politicians sometimes take the liberty of holding out to soldiers of fortune. A circumstance had taken place, which shall by and by be mentioned, that enabled them to comprehend, as they imagined, the count's meaning, and which inclined them at the same time to give easy credit to his sincerity. They did not hesitate, therefore, a moment, to transmit to Mansveldt a very friendly letter, in which they endeavoured to restore him to the interests of the house of Austria by the most liberal promises of preferment and fortune. But Ferdinand had not treasures sufficient to bend the inflexible spirit of that gallant hero; nor

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was it in his power to have set before his eyes so glorious an object at once of ambition and revenge, as that which he now pursued. Mansveldt, however, counterfeited a satisfaction in the assurances that had been given him: but he declined to surrender the place, and the troops he commanded, without saving his honour, by making a shew of resistance. The imperial generals perceived at last that they had been the dupes of artifice*. There was no reason to despair of being able to reduce Pilsen by force of arms; but the obstinate valour of Mansveldt, it was probable, would render the siege tedious, and, in the present crisis, every moment was precious. After being amused for thirteen days, they pushed on towards Prague, and, at Raconits, encountered with the Bohemian army, which was now conducted by the marquis of Anhalt, and count Hollach, his lieutenant-general. These men were but little acquainted with military affairs; but they possessed the ear of the Palatine, who passing by the distinguished merit of the counts Thorn and Mansveldt, bestowed his confidence, as weak princes commonly do, where he had placed his favour. This was the circumstance which gave credit to

* Batt. Nau. lib. iv. 1620.

the

the pretences of Mansveldt, and enabled him to impose on his adversaries at Pilsen.

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ADJOINING to Raconits, on the west, stood a hill, covered from the bottom upwards, to the middle, with a thick and intricate forest of pine and fir trees, whose close and feathered branches entwined with one another, and reaching to the very ground, formed a shade impervious to the rays of the sun, and a retreat to wild beasts. In this natural fortress, Anhalt resolved to make a stand, and to wait the approach of the enemy. He formed a camp for the infantry on the upper part of the hill, and defended the approaches to the whole, by the cavalry, and five hundred musketeers. As it would have been dangerous to have advanced to Prague, leaving so great a force behind them, the imperialists resolved to assault the hill on all sides, and to provoke the enemy, if possible, to an engagement. But if, in this attempt, they should be unsuccessful, they hoped, at least, to derive some advantage from that spirit which is infused by an attack, and from that depression of courage, and loss of reputation which the Bohemians would suffer by declining an action. The most desperate efforts were accordingly made to dislodge the Palatine, by setting fire to the vegetable rampart that protected him, and opening

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avenues for the ascent of the imperial troops, by the hatchet. In this attempt, many officers as well as private men fell, and Bucquoy himself was grievously wounded. On the 5th of November, Anhalt perceived the imperial army in motion. Upon this, he dispatched count Thorn with a considerable force to Prague, to strengthen the city, and to fortify the wavering minds of the inhabitants. He himself, followed soon after with the main army. He leaves his baggage behind, and, by forced marches, through unfrequented paths, across the mountains, arrives before the imperialists, at the Bohemian capital. The vast extent of that city, which was open in many places to hostile invasion, determined Anhalt to post his army on the Wisemberg *.

Battle of Prague.

The Wisemberg, or White Hill, is of no great height or circumference, but, being cut and broken by craggs and deep ravines, it is of difficult access, except on that side which looks towards Prague, where an inclined plane, of equal fertility and beauty, extends from its summit to the walls of the city. The lower part of this declining space was covered with

* Gonç. de Cesp. lib. i. cap. 14. Batt. Nan. lib. iv. 1620.

a range

a range of houses, or rather a straggling village, which formed part of the suburbs of Prague; the middlemost was an extensive park, adorned with a wood, and a royal palace, called the Star; the higher overlooked, and in many places commanded the capital. In this strong position, the Bohemian general drew up his forces, and here he determined to abide the assault of the enemy. The various projections and incurvations of the hill, improved by art, seemed to defy the boldest assailants. And that the men might not be tempted to abandon so advantageous a station, Anhalt ordered the gates of the city to be shut, and signified what he had done, to every division of the army. Having taken this precaution, he ranged his troops in order of battle. They were drawn up in two lines intersecting each other, in the form of a cross. In the centre were placed four pieces of cannon. The four flanks were strengthened each with three cannon, and covered by cavalry. Behind the whole was stationed a body of reserve. In this position, and this order, the Bohemians waited the approach of the enemy*.

* Hist. de Don Felippe III. por Gonç de Cesp. lib. i. cap. 14.

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THE imperialists, who had by this time advanced within a half a league of Prague, were struck with the advantageous situation of the Bohemians, and deliberated, whether or no they should give them battle. But the advanced season would not permit them much longer to keep the field: and in the spring, thirty thousand Turks*, would be added to the number of their enemies. All the friends of Ferdinand had already taken an active part in his cause, and his whole force was now in exertion. The powers, on the other hand, that formed the neutral allies of Frederic, from causes that could not be permanent, stood many of them aloof, as if indifferent to his fortune, but would assuredly join in support of his cause, if the sovereign authority should be confirmed in the hands of that prince by length of time, as well as by actual possession. In many cases it was more prudent to guard against disaster, than to run any great risque for the sake of victory. But in cases of rebellion there was not room for delay, for the loss of time was equal to misfortune in the field of battle†. The enemy was, indeed, strongly

* Hist. du Regne de Louis III. Roy de France, et des principaux Evenements arrivez pendant ce Regne dans tous les Pais du Monde.

† In discordiis civilibus nihil festinatione tutius, ubi facto

strongly posted: but the fate of battles depended often on accidents, not to be foreseen by human prudence; and the steady valour of the Imperialists, was more likely to bear up under any unforeseen and adverse circumstance, than the tumultous courage of the undisciplined Bohemians. There was yet another consideration, which of all had the greatest weight in the present question. The sermons of father Dominico, a barefooted Carmelite, who assured the army that the Lord of Hosts would go forth with their standard in his own cause, had infused into the soldiers an impatient ardour to charge the heretics: so important, in those days, was the office of a military chaplain*!

On the whole, it was resolved to storm the hill: the troops were formed in order of battle; the imperialists on the right hand, and the Bavarians on the left. They advanced upon the enemy by the way of Stratzis, the only way that was practicable. Pursuing this course, they were obliged to march in a file over a bridge, and then, before they should arrive at

facto magis quam consulto opus est. Nec cunctatione opus, ubi perniciosior sit quies, quam temeritas. Tacitus.

* Batt. Nan. lib. iv. 1620. Gonç. de Cesp. lib. i. cap. 14.

the

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the bottom of the Wisemberg, a miry valley. The younger Anhalt, son of the general, perceived the advantage to be derived from this embarrassing situation, and was all on fire to improve it. He proposed, after allowing such numbers of the Imperialists to pass the bridge as should greatly weaken the main body of the army on the other side, to attack them before they should be formed, and while struggling with the difficulties of marshy ground. This plan of young Anhalt, which was not less prudent than courageous, appeared to Hollach, the lieutenant-general, the effect of youthful impetuosity. The Imperialists were allowed to extricate themselves from their embarrassment without any other inconvenience than what they suffered from the Bohemian artillery. In order to avoid this, they hastened their march, until the prominences of the hill afforded them protection. Then, having put themselves in the best order that the time and nature of the ground would admit, they pressed up the Wisemberg with deliberate valour, and made a furious attack upon the enemy. The shouting of the soldiers, the noise of trumpets and drums, and the roaring of artillery, reverberated from the inflections and cavities of the hill, announced the commencement of the important onset, and shook the country for many leagues around with terror. Prague, as being nearer to the dreadful scene,

was

was more sensibly struck with its horrors, and trembled in awful expectation of the eventful issue. Frederick, on whose account the contending armies profusely shed their blood, beheld from the battlements of his palace *, on the one hand the spacious capital of Bohemia, and on the other the fierce engagement that was to dispose of the Bohemian crown †. At the beginning of the conflict, fortune seemed to smile on the Bohemians; for young Anhalt, supported by count Slich, repulsed with great slaughter the first assault. This assault was made by count Tilly, lieutenant-general to the duke of Bavaria. But the veteran troops, which formed the strength of the Imperial army, sustained this disaster with that firmness which results from discipline, and a glorious reputation. On this occasion the wounded Bucquoy signalized his own spirit, and re-animated the hearts of the fearful. He had been carried in a litter to his tent in the camp, there to await the event of the action. But he no sooner saw the Imperialists hardly pressed by the Bohemians, than he jumped out of his carriage, and, feverish as he was, mounted the first horse he found,

* In the Star Park already described.

† Balt. Nan. lib. iv. 1620. Gonç. de Cesp. lib. i. cap. 14.

put

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put himself at the head of his troops, and attacked the Hungarians with such fury, that he left near two thousand, as was computed, dead on the spot*. The Walloons, commanded by William Verdugo, next to Bucquoy had the honour of restoring the battle. They took young Anhalt and count Slich prisoners, and having made themselves masters of a redoubt, with three pieces of cannon, turned the artillery with prodigious effect againt the thick squadrons of the enemy. The panic that was struck among undisciplined troops by this sudden reverse of fortune; the fright and confusion that had taken place among the Hungarian cavalry, from the yelling of the Cossacks; together with a steady and unremitted fire both of cannon and musquetry, in spite of the exhortations, the threats, and the example of the generals and other officers, threw the whole Bohemian army into irrecoverable disorder and terror. A general rout ensued. All was lost, but the honour of having made a brave resistance. Anhalt having first dispatched a message to the Palatine, provided for his own safety. The regiment of count Thorn was the last that quitted the field. The Wisemberg was

* Hist. du Regne de Louis XIII. et des Evenemens, &c.

covered

covered with the arms of the fugitives, and the bodies of the slain. Multitudes seeking to escape from the edge of the sword perished in the Mulda. Five thousand Bohemians, that had been posted in the Star Park, threw down their arms, and cast themselves upon the clemency of the victors. The generals were willing to give them quarter; but the Cossacks remaining equally deaf to the orders of the commander, and to the cries of the flying victims, sheathed the sword only when the arm was weary with shedding blood*

Important consequences of the battle of Prague.

This important victory restored to Ferdinand the crown of Bohemia, and rendered the authority of Austria over that kingdom more absolute than ever. Whatever privileges and immunities the Bohemian states had formerly enjoyed, whether as their ancient rights, or the concessions of their kings, were, by a royal edict, abolished or revoked. The electoral dignity, and afterwards the estates of Frederic were, by the mere authority of the emperor, transferred to the duke of Bavaria. His principal adherents were proscribed; and all those rigours and severities exercised against the professors of the reformed re-

* Batt. Nan. lib. iv. 1620.

ligion,

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ligion, which were to be expected from a vigorous, unrelenting, and bigotted conqueror.

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The misfortunes that awaited the elector Palatine were singularly affecting; nor, has ever the tragic Muse invented scenes more fitted to purge the minds of men with sympathetic sorrow. In the silence of the night that followed the fatal 9th of November, he fled with his wife and little children into Silesia, where he met with the common reception of unfortunate princes. His abode among a people, determined to make their peace with his mortal enemy, was as short as it was comfortless. He wandered with his family from place to place, still fondly hoping to retrieve his fortune by arms, or by negociation. In the midst of his peregrinations, two domestic events of contrary natures equally dissolved his soul into the tenderest anguish. At Brandenburgh, whither he had retired from Silesia, he was reminded how much his family had suffered from his imprudent ambition, by the birth of a son*. The same reflection occurred, in all its bitterness, some years after, on a journey to Amsterdam. As he was passing over

* Hist. du Regne de Louis XIII. et des Evenemens principaux, &c.

the

the Haerlem-mer, in a dark and tempestuous night, the light vessel in which he sailed foundered on another, against which it was driven by the fury of the winds and waves. Before the ship sunk, the Palatine, with some other passengers, made their escape to that other vessel; but the prince, his son, was unfortunately left in the foundered vessel, which they durst not approach, though they heard the cries of the boy calling out for the help of his father. The next day, when the tempest abated, they found him frozen to the mast, which he had embraced as his last refuge*. While the unfortunate Frederic was thus wrestling with adversity, his friends and allies left him, one after another, and sought to reconcile themselves to the emperor. Even the brave and active prince of Transylvania, who, after the battle of Prague, had the courage to march his troops to the frontiers of the Lower Austria, maintaining his army by the plunder of the Catholic subjects of his enemy, even he would have abandoned the common cause, and given up the interests of his ally, if he could have exchanged the crown for the vice-royalty of Hungary†. Count Mansveldt alone,

* History of King James, by Arthur Wilson, Esq.

† Batt. Nan. lib. iv. 1620. Gonç. de Cesp. lib. 1. cap. 15.

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with a small army, which he subsisted chiefly by pillage and free quarters, still maintained the cause of Frederic; and his successful boldness encouraged duke Christian of Brunswick, and the marquis of Baden Dourlach, to appear at the head of armies on the same side. These princes were defeated by the Imperialists under count Tilly. But Mansveldt, though much inferior in force to his enemies, still maintained the war, and discovered, at once, the most wonderful caution in securing his own troops, and the greatest valour in annoying those of the enemy. For the space of two years, he defied, with a small flying army, the whole house of Austria when in the zenith of its power, and would probably have prolonged the contest to a more distant period, if the Palatine, at the instigation of the king of England, had not, under colour of submission to the emperor, dismissed him from his service. The count withdrew his army into the Low Countries, and there entered into the service of the United Provinces*.

At the same time that the treasures and arms of Spain were employed, with so much success, in supporting and extending the au-

* Hume's History of Great Britain. Reign of James I. anno 1622.

thority

thority of Ferdinand in Germany, the duke of Feria, by the subjection of the Valteline, consolidated the territories of both branches of the Austrian race into one excessive and mighty empire. BOOK VI. 1620.

Revolt of the Valteline.

THE Valteline extends from the lake of Como, in Milan, winding in an easterly direction between two ridges of lofty mountains, to the county of Tirol, and to the vallies of Sol and Munster, from which regions it is separated by the hills of Braulio, which may be crossed in the space of six or eight hours. On the north, it is bounded by the Alps, and, on the south, by the territories of the Venetian republic. Its length is seventy miles; its breadth, if we reckon from the summits of the enclosing mountains, forty; but, if from their roots, on a medium, not above six. It is watered by the river Adda, and being exceedingly fertile in cattle, corn, and wine, it abounded in towns and villages full of people. The inhabitants of this valley are said to have been of a mild and dispassionate temper; their manners to have been uncultivated and simple; their language and customs Italian. The Valteline was in former times a part of the principality of Milan; though by this time it had fallen, through various revolutions, under the dominion of the Grisons. Those republicans go-

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verned this dependent province with a rod of iron, the antipathy that naturally takes place between a conquering and a conquered people, being exasperated by that of religion. They interdicted their religious rites and usages, banished the Jesuits, annihilated the jurisdiction of the secular clergy, and converted their churches into places of worship for the Protestants. Colleges were founded, and professors of divinity were brought from Geneva, at the expence of the king of England. And, as the Grisons tyrannized over the minds of this unfortunate people, so they in reality enslaved their bodies. They deprived them, on various pretences, of the fruits of their industry, and even of the patrimony left them by their ancestors. All those who were in the service of the leagues*, might commit the greatest enormities on the Catholics with impunity. The government of the Valteline resembled that of Turkey, by Pashas, and Janissaries; or the dominion which is now

* The civil constitution of the Grisons was a democracy. A certain number of towns and villages composed a community or corporation; several communities, a league; and three leagues, assembled by their deputies in a general diet, possessed the supreme power of the republic. The Grisons are represented by writers of those times, but Catholics, as a fierce and intractable people, venal, inconstant, and delighting in blood; and in all respects as the reverse of the simple natives of the Valteline.

exercised

exercised by European merchants over the princes of Asia*.

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ANIMATED at once by the resolution of despair, a zeal for religion, and private assurances of the most effectual support from the governor of Milan, the Catholics of the Valteline, in one day flew to arms, and surprised and massacred the unwary Protestants. The magistrates, and men of distinction and property were, as usual in all similar commotions, the chief objects of their rage. Upwards of three hundred fathers of prosperous families were put to the sword; and their goods, houses, cattle, and estates, seized by the insurgents. Immediately the Catholics chose new magistrates, and, with the aid of money from Spain, erected several forts, which were also garrisoned by Spanish troops. The Grisons, assisted by the wealth of Venice, which enabled them to hire some companies of Swiss, and Hollanders, made an effort to regain the Valteline; but were repulsed by the Catholics, supported by near five thousand Spanish foot and horse, with a train of artillery. Thus the conquest of the Palatinate by Spinola, having opened a passage for the Spaniards through Flanders into the heart of Germany;

* Batt. Nan. lib. iv. 1620. Gonç. de Cesp. lib. i. cap. 16.

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the Spanish territories in Italy being linked to those of Ferdinand by the reduction of the Valteline; and a communication having been already established between the Milanese and Spain, through the ports of Monaco and Final, on the Mediterranean; a chain seemed to be formed for holding the fairest portion of Europe in subjection to the house of Austria.

Immense power of the house of Austria.

Among the fortunate events of this year, may be ranked the preservation of Naples from the attempts of the duke of Ossuna. How soon that singular man conceived the bold design of converting his delegated into sovereign power, is uncertain. His resolution was fixed the moment he learnt that the court of Madrid intended to deprive him of his government; but it is probable that fluctuating and transient ideas of independency on that court had occupied his mind at an earlier period: for when matters were brought to a crisis, it was only by pursuing his usual tenour of conduct with unusual alacrity, that he endeavoured to accomplish the object of his lofty though eccentric ambition. It appears that he entertained a hearty contempt for the feeble capacity and temper of his sovereign*. He characterised this

Rebellious designs of the duke of Ossuna.

* Batt. Nan. lib. iii. anno 1617.

prince

prince by an image very natural in the mouth of a military man. Talking of Philip, he was wont to call him, "The great drum of the monarchy;" as if he had been merely an instrument for communicating the orders of the duke of Lerma*. This contempt of the king, and the distance of Naples from Spain, were perhaps the circumstances which first suggested to Ossuna ideas of raising himself to independent power. These ideas appear to have been uppermost in his mind, when he scornfully declined to solemnize the double marriages, and courted popularity, by distributing the money that had been collected for that purpose among a number of poor virgins. It was not however, it may be supposed, till after the fall of his patron, the duke of Lerma, and the changes that were begun or threatened in the principal departments of administration, that the duke entertained any serious thoughts of assuming independence.

The viceroy of Naples, when he learnt that the duke of Uzeda had supplanted his father in the royal favour, and had in fact become prime minister, though Lerma still lingered about court for the purpose of securing effec-

* Anecdotes du Ministere de Conde Duc d'Olivarez.

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tual protection, married his son to Uzeda's daughter; exhibiting thus as signal an instance of the illusion of hope as had been displayed by friar Abaga. It was not to be expected that an unprincipled courtier, who had undermined his own father, and arraigned his administration, should unsay, in a manner, what he said of the duke of Lerma, by patronizing the duke of Ossuna. As the passion of hope, especially in sanguineous tempers, is of a very hardy nature, the duke of Ossuna still flattered himself, even after he had experienced much coldness and reserve on the part of Uzeda, that he should be able to maintain an interest at court by means of his intimate friend and confidant Calderona, by whom it was that he had been introduced to the notice and favour of the duke of Lerma. But, the moment he was informed that Calderona, with whom he had kept up a close and confidential correspondence for many years, was thrown in prison, and all his papers seized, he was sensible that his own fall was at hand, and formed a serious resolution to set the court of Madrid at defiance.

Among the persons about the court of Naples, whom Ossuna honoured with his favour and confidence, was La Verriere, a French-

Frenchman, captain of his body guard; a man of pleasure, a pleasant companion, and, at the same time, a man of tried courage. The duke, who was in the habit of relaxing in the company of Verriere, had at the same time such an esteem of his talents and virtues, that he would on some occasions talk with him on matters of great importance. The Frenchman, to whom the viceroy had communicated the predicament in which he stood, and to whom he had let fall some hints of his secret design, by way of starting the question whether such a thing might be possible, entered into the project with great readiness and zeal; and, instead of needing any solicitation on the part of the viceroy, importuned him night and day to think seriously of the enterprise, and immediately to set every engine at work for carrying it into execution. "In your excellency's circumstances," said he, "it becomes a noble and elevated spirit to shew to the world how natural it was in the Spanish ministers to remove, if by any means they could, from so important a share in the government, a nobleman whose merits and fame had become subjects of jealousy and uneasiness to a powerful monarch. You have at your command an army of sixteen thousand men, twenty gallies, and as many galleons, well equipped, &c. ready for any service.

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vice. The greater part of the artillery, and the strongest places in the kingdom, with their military stores, are in your hands. All the powers of Europe combine for the humiliation of the Austrians. Bohemia, Hungary, and some adjacent provinces are in a state of revolt, and ready to throw off the yoke. A part of the best troops of the Catholic king are on their march for the support of Ferdinand. The rest must remain for securing the obedience of the Low Countries. The duke of Savoy burns with impatience to make conquests in the Milanese. The Venetians aim at the excitement of a general revolt throughout all Italy against the domination of the Spaniards. Where will the council of Madrid find troops to oppose you? In Spain? Here there is a great scarcity of men. In Sicily? It is threatened by a Turkish invasion. In the duchy of Milan? It is kept in check by the incessant, though various, movements of Charles Emanuel and the Venetians. When you have once raised your standard, France, and the other powers, jealous of the greatness of the Spanish monarchy, will embrace so fair an occasion for humbling it."

THE captain of the guards, though he did nothing more in such discoveries than reiterate reflections that had before occurred to Ossuna,

Ossuna, as is evident from his previous conduct founded on those observations, fortified him in his bold design, the necessity of which became every day more and more apparent, and was an admirable agent in all the measures taken for its execution. BOOK VI. 1620.

THE viceroy, before he began to take the most daring measures, had taken care to have his son with his lady, at Naples. So that he had, as it were, an hostage on the part of the court of Madrid, in the daughter of Uzeda, while the court of Madrid had none on that of Ossuna.

THE means by which this duke, who passed with many for no other than an ingenious madman*, endeavoured to bring about his ends were so refined and artful, that a brief account of them will not appear unentertaining to the reader.

* Sir John Digby in a letter, dated at Madrid, 6th June, 1619, writes to the secretary Naunton as follows: "I doubt not but your honour has often heard that the duke of Ossuna in Naples, hath given no small cause unto this king to suspect, that he had an intention to keep himself longer in that government, than should agree with his majesty's pleasure; and indeed he hath so behaved himself, that, were it not the duke of Ossuna, (whose idle brain is so well known in the world), I should wonder at their patience."

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THE order of nobility, accustomed to look back, and to reverence antiquity, he reasoned, would be averse to innovation, and disposed to support the crown, which they considered as the source of their own eminence in society. He therefore endeavoured by all means to humble the nobles, and by studied insults to diminish that respect which was paid to their rank by the people. He excluded them from all places of power and trust, and even plundered them occasionally of their property. His chief friends and confidents were strangers. Wherever he found a man of courage and genius, whom want or crimes had made desperate, he received him into his bosom, and loaded him with such favours as infallibly attached him to his person. On pretence of quelling commotions, which he himself had industriously excited, he introduced a military force composed of foreigners, who were entirely devoted to his will, and who acknowledged no other master. He had also ships of war under his command, which roved the seas, not under the flag of Spain, but that of the family of Ossuna. In this manner he proposed to train up a naval force, that from habit should look up to him as the only power intitled to direct their motions.

THE prizes made by his fleet, and the plunder

plunder he ravished from the nobility, he employed in bribing the council of Spain to connive at his enormities, and in increasing his popularity, both in the army and among the great body of the people. Throughout the whole kingdom of Naples he had agents who fomented the natural malignity of the people towards their superiors, and assured them that the duke of Ossuna was the only person to whom they could look up for protection against the tyranny of the court, and the insolence of the nobles. He it was who would relieve them from oppressive taxes, and ease them of all their burthens. One day as he passed by a place where the officers of the revenues, in order to adjust the tax, were weighing certain articles of provision, he drew his sword with great appearance of indignation, and cut through the ropes of the scales, signifying by that expressive action, that the fruits of the earth ought to be as free as those celestial influences from which they spring. Many other instances are recorded of the theatrical manner in which he courted popularity; among which we find the following:— An armament of his in the Adriatic, consisting of nineteen ships and thirty-three gallies, excited in Venice the greatest alarm and consternation. The senate, with all possible expedition, equipped a fleet for opposing its progress.

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gress. There was a general expectation of a great naval action, and a report prevailed that one had actually taken place, in which the Venetians had obtained a signal victory. Songs were made on the subject; and the populace expressed, in their usual ways, the most extravagant joy. In the pride and rage of exultation, they would have plundered, if not destroyed, the house of his Catholic majesty's ambassador, the marquis of Bedmar, if the senate had not sent a guard for its protection. A short time discovered that there had not been any engagement whatever, fortunate or unfortunate. The duke of Ossuna, in mockery of the Venetians, brought together a great number of trading vessels, taken from them and the Turks, and conducted them with great pomp into the port of Naples. Whilst the Neapolitans enjoyed this gratifying spectacle, the duke, with his usual gaiety, appeared at the window of his palace, in the square, or place, before which a number of people were assembled, as it looked into the harbour. "Rejoice now," said he, "in your turn, and laugh at the fooleries of the Venetians on the occasion of their supposed victory." The bells were set a ringing, cannon were fired, and, in short, recourse was had to all demonstrations of joy usual in Naples.

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At the same time that the duke of Ossuna was assiduous to gain the favour of the Neapolitan people, he also laboured to conciliate the friendship and to secure the support of foreign nations. This purpose he hoped to effect by doing them all the mischief in his power. For this end he left nothing unattempted that might tend to embroil the Spaniards with all their neighbours, and to render their very name hateful to the world. In like manner he withheld the pay due to the troops, laying the blame on the treasury of Spain; but advanced sums for supplying their most urgent wants, as he pretended, out of his own pocket. He endeavoured, as has already been observed, to bring the Infidels into Italy, harassed the fleets and coasts of Venice, and committed piracies on the ships of almost all nations without distinction. In the mean time he entered into a secret correspondence with the Venetian senate, and the duke of Savoy, and assured them that all the hostilities he had committed were the effects of the most positive orders from the court of Madrid. He invited them to join with him in a design he had formed of restoring the liberty of Italy, by driving the Spaniards beyond the mountains. The republic, averse to such hazardous exploits, would not so much as hear the duke's proposal. But Charles Emanuel thought it worthy

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worthy of consideration, and instantly communicated it to the court of France. In consequence of this, a person was sent by the mareschal Lesdiguieres to learn the real situation of affairs at Naples *.

THE designs of Ossuna did not escape the court of Madrid †. The council, the duke of Uzeda not excepted, was unanimous that he ought immediately to be recalled: but whether

* Greg. Let. Hist. Osson. Bat. Nan. lib. iv. 1619. Anecdotes du Ministere de Conde Duc d' Olivarez.

† "Howsoever, says Sir John Digby, in the letter above quoted to secretary Naunton, the Spaniards have seemed all this while to neglect his (Ossuna's) courses, and to despise the danger so much spoken of in the world, yet I perceive they apprehend it more than they have made show of; for those ships of war which the duke of Ossuna armed in Naples (entitling them his Galleons) having lately fought with a squadron of pirates off the Goleta, (to whom they say here he gave a great overthrow, though for my part I believe it not), and entering into the port of Messina, in Sicilia, to succour and repair themselves, were there stayed by Don Francesco de Castro, the viceroy of that kingdom, who had express orders from hence, and not suffered to return again to Naples. The prince Philbert is with the Gallies to go directly for Messina, and there to command also those Galleons; so as now they have taken both the Galleons and Gallies out of the duke of Ossuna's power, and his successor will be instantly named, after which, I conceive, he will be called in question for many disorders; for complaints are daily brought hither against him by all sorts of persons."

he

he would submit to their orders they very much doubted. It was therefore resolved to attempt his removal by stratagem. Prince Philibert of Savoy was privately sent to command the fleet, but orders were dispatched to the cardinal Don Gaspar de Borgia, to hasten from Rome to Naples, to take upon him the government in the room of Ossuna. The cardinal, agreeably to instructions from Madrid, having previously secured the countenance of the governor of Castel Nuovo, introduced himself into that fortress in the silence of the night; and the thunder of the cannon which welcomed the arrival of Borgia, next morning announced the disgrace of Ossuna.

Defeated.

But the duke, even while he stood on this precipice, did not resign his power without a struggle to maintain it. He attempted, by means of his emissaries, to rouse an insurrection both of the populace and soldiers. But the possession of the castle, the constant roaring of artillery, expressive of the will and authority of Spain, the acquiescence of the nobility, and those in the civil departments of state: these circumstances operated with irresistible force both on the soldiery and the people, and prevailing over their attachment to Ossuna, maintained their reverence for that

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power which they had been accustomed to obey. The degraded viceroy returned by slow journies into Spain. When he went to court, Philip withdrew his eyes from him, and turned his back. The high spirited Ossuna surveying the monarch with contempt, muttered to those who stood nearest him, "The king treats me not as a man, but as a child." This discountenance was all the punishment that was inflicted by the meek and gentle king, on a man who had attempted to deprive him of a kingdom. But, in the first year of the succeeding reign, he was thrown into prison, where he died of a dropsy*.

THE brilliant successes of this year, which diffused through the Spanish nation a general joy, made but a faint impression, where it might naturally be imagined it would have made the greatest. So deep a melancholy had overcast the mind of the king, that it could not be brightened up by the greatest national prosperity. In order to revive his spirits by a change of air and of objects, by the advice of his new ministers as well as of his physicians, he set out on a journey
April 22. into Portugal, accompanied with the prince and princess of Spain, the infanta Maria,

* Hist. de Don Felippe IV. por Don Gonçalo de Cespides, lib. segundo, capitulo segundo.

several

several of the nobility, the gentlemen of his bed-chamber, and his confessor. The towns through which he passed testified their joy at his presence, by acclamations and triumphal arches. On the feast of St. Peter he made his public entry into Lisbon. The river was covered with all kinds of vessels, which were gaudily decorated, and exhibited the greatest profusion of riches. Thirty-two triumphal arches, adorned with gold and precious stones, displayed in a manner still more pompous the wealth of the capital of Portugal. Philip, struck with so magnificent a spectacle, said, "He never knew before that he was so great a king." Having assembled the cortes, or estates of the kingdom, he received the crown, with the homage of his subjects. The king in return, agreeably to ancient custom, swore that he would preserve inviolate the rights and privileges of his people. The cortes also swore fealty to the prince, as the heir-apparent. This they did in conformity to the wishes of the king. For that good prince, convinced that his end was approaching, was anxious to establish his family in peace and comfort. He remained at Lisbon for some months; but, through the infirm state of his health, did not appear much in public. On his return to Madrid he was detained for some time by a severe fit of his distemper at Casa

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Rubios. Having somewhat recovered, he pursued his journey, and employed the short remainder of his life in the settlement of his family. The infant Don Ferdinand, his third son, at the age of ten years received a cardinal's hat, and, with the approbation of the Pope, was raised by proxy to the see of Toledo, the primacy of Spain, and the richest benefice in Europe.

On the twenty-fifth day of November the marriage was consummated between the prince and princess of Spain. And on the fourth of December the prince was introduced to the councils of state, in order to learn the importance, and how to discharge the duties of the crown. This measure the king adopted in imitation of his father's conduct with regard to himself. In imitation of the same example he left, for the use of his son, some instructions in writing

Feb. 23, 1621. Illness of Philip.

In the month of February the king's illness returned in all its malignity. Soon after his return from the chapel he was taken with a fever, which continued with various intermissions about the space of a month. During all

* Hist. de Don Felippe, &c. por Gonçales de Cespides, lib. i. c. 7. 16. 18. Anecdotes du Ministere de Condé Duc d'Olivarez. Amelot de la Houssaie.

this

this time his spirits were depressed with the deepest melancholy, and he persevered, notwithstanding some encouragement from the physicians, in expressing his full assurance that he should die. He desired that the image of the Holy Virgin of Antiochia should be carried about, which was performed on Sunday the twenty-eighth, in a solemn procession, at which the counsellors of Spain, and many other of the noblemen assisted. In the evening of that day commandment was given to all the churches of Madrid to place the blessed sacrament upon the altars. On Monday, about four o'clock in the evening, the king grew worse than ever. He had before been seized at different times with a violent vomiting and a diarrhœa. Blisters now appeared on his limbs and other parts of his body; and the physicians feeling his pulse, said unanimously, "that they undoubtedly assented to the king in the opinion he entertained of his infirmity." He then, in the presence of his confessor, with other divines, the grandees of Spain, the presidents of the different councils, and the first lord of his bed-chamber, authorised the president of Castile to affix in his name, for his hand shook greatly, the royal signature to a codicil he dictated in addition to his testament, which he had already made at Casa Rubios. This being done, he gave orders that other presents, be-

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sides those he had already appointed, should be given to his confessor, and to his servants. After this, his physicians persuaded him to take some food; they also advised him to compose himself for sleep; but he answered, "On so long a journey, and in so short a time for performing it, I must not rest." He now desired, as the last action of his life, to see, address, and to bless his children. He told the prince that he had sent for him that he might behold the vanity of tiaras and crowns, and learn to prepare for eternity. He particularly exhorted him not to change the old, experienced, and approved ministers, as he himself had in some instances done. To the child of Don Carlos he spoke long and in a low tone of voice. He then said aloud to the prince, "I recommend the child to your protection. It grieves me that I should leave him unprovided; but I hope I leave him in the hands of a good and affectionate brother." Then appeared the infanta Maria, and the infant cardinal. At the approach of the infanta he burst into tears, and said, "Maria, I am full sorry that I must die before I have married thee; but this thy brother will take care of thee;" and turning about, he said, "Prince, do not forsake her, till you have made her an empress:" He then spoke to the cardinal infant, whom he had appointed, when he should be of a fit age, to be archbishop

bishop of Toledo. He should be much grieved, he said, if he thought that he would not undertake, and faithfully discharge the duties of that sacred office. He also sent for the princess of Spain; but she fainted away as soon as she entered the king's bed-chamber, and was conducted back to her own apartment. It was not thought proper that she should make a second effort to see the dying king, as she was now in the fourth month of her pregnancy. When what had happened to the princess was reported to the king, he was melted into great tenderness, and greatly affected at so striking an instance of sensibility and filial love. He professed a firm belief that the princess loved him as well as any of his own children. She would lose a good father, he added, and that he had always loved her tenderly. Afterwards, giving them all his blessing, he dismissed them with many prayers for their happiness, both here and hereafter. The blessed sacrament was administered to him about midnight. He received the extreme unction at two o'clock in the morning. During the whole time of his illness he made a constant confession of his sins, and implored divine mercy. He confessed to all around him that he had often been guilty of dissimulation in matters of government; he regretted his supine indolence, and blamed himself greatly for having

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having devolved the care of the state on his ministers; and when he reflected that he had not in all things made the will of God the rule of his government, he trembled, crying out at different times, "Oh! if it should please heaven to prolong my life, how different should be my future from my past conduct!" But in the midst of his troubled thoughts he found consolation in the mercies of God; and embracing a crucifix, he expressed a hope, that the Redeemer of the world would not leave his soul in hell, but that, after many ages of painful purification, he would receive him at last into the mansions of the blessed. At devotion so affecting, the spectators burst into tears; and that instant, father Jerome of Florence came up to the bed on which the king lay. The father, unwilling to bruise a broken reed, held up to the view of the pious monarch, the consolations of religion, and expatiated on the exemplary purity of his life, and that zeal which had appeared throughout the whole of his reign for the Roman Catholic religion; the support and propagation of which had been the principal object of his counsels and his arms. "He had been the most faithful and zealous servant of the Roman pontiff, and the great bulwark of the Catholic faith. He had repressed the ambitious designs of the heretical Hollanders, and retained,

retained, or reduced, under his subjection, many places of strength both in the low countries and in Africa. His discoveries and conquests in America, and the missions he had supported here and in India had drawn new kingdoms into his own bosom and that of the church*. On the expulsion of the Morescoes, father Jerome expatiated at great length. Though this industrious people contributed so much to the wealth and general prosperity of Spain, his majesty had not hesitated to make a sacrifice of that advantage to the interests of religion; and heaven had reserved for his reign the glory of exterminating this sect from Spain, as that of the Nestorians† had been from the east. It was owing,

* Vide Supplement, containing a brief account of the transmarine affairs of this reign.

† A sect of ancient Christians, whose distinguishing tenet is, that Mary is not the mother of God. In the thirteenth century the Nestorians formed so considerable a body of Christians, that the missionaries of Rome used every endeavour to re-unite them with the Catholic church, that is, to reduce them under the obedience of the Pope. The Nestorians acknowledged but one patriarch, till the time of Pope Julius III; when a division arising among them in 1551, the patriarchate became divided. A new patriarch was consecrated by that Pope. The successors of this Roman Catholic patriarch continued in their communion with the church of Rome down to the seventeenth century; though they are said now to have withdrawn from it.

also,

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also, to the protection of his majesty that the august house of Austria had been maintained in the imperial dignity, and was not overwhelmed by a combination of heretics. He had promoted the election of Matthias to the empire at the expence of a million of dollars; and Ferdinand, in his contest with the Bohemians, both with money and troops. Notwithstanding the different attempts that had been made to disturb and embroil Italy, it had enjoyed, under his royal wing, a tranquillity unknown since the days of Augustus Cæsar. Three millions of money had been expended in the support of the Pope, Paul V. in his contest with the Venetians. At no period had the Christian faith been so widely spread over the face of the earth, as in his majesty's reign, or the chair of St. Peter, so much obeyed and respected. He had assisted the Catholics of the Valteline in their struggles with the Venetians and Grisons, and those of Ireland in theirs with England. It was also to his influence and authority that the kings of France were maintained on the throne, in opposition to the machinations of the Hugenots." Nor did the father omit to mention "the donations that the king had made to holy places, and the churches, monasteries, and colleges that he had erected and endowed for the maintenance and propagation of the Catholic faith,

in

in the East Indies, in America, in Africk, and even in Persia."

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By this seasonable discourse the king was, for a short time, consoled, and his spirits and hopes enlivened. He said, that it had indeed pleased God to make him the instrument, by discoveries and conquests, to gain many lands to the dominion of the faith. But his hypocondriac temperament soon regained the ascendant. There was nothing on his conscience of so heinous a nature as to give him remorse. Nor did he doubt that the "grace of God abounded even to the chief of sinners." But the very possibility that he might not be in the number of those predestinated to salvation, appalled him. "Ah me," he said, "how dreadful it is, to run a risk, as I do, of going to hell*!"

THE

* Ay de mi triste miserable Que Estoy a Riesgo de un Infierno? Historia de Don Felippe IIII. &c. por Gonç alo de Cespedes. Capit. Prim. It is salutary, and there is a lamentable need, of quickening by preaching, and by all possible means the faith of Christians. But if our belief in spiritual and everlasting concerns were as vivid and effective as that kind of belief which governs our conduct in this life, it would be too strong to be endured, and all the moral processes of our minds be interrupted and subverted. An hundred soldiers doomed to decimation would not be more incapable of any regular plan of action than miserable

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THE alternate tumults of hope and fear that had so long agitated the mind of the king, at last subsided into a gentle calm, and he died in all the tranquillity of faith, on the last day of March, in the forty-third year of his life, and the twenty-third of his reign.

And character.

THE pliant, mild, and religious disposition of this prince would have well entitled him to the praise of the pious and good†, if the natural benevolence of his temper had not been controlled, in many important instances, by the bigotry, and his piety deeply tinctured with the follies of superstition. The expul-

miserable sinners, awakened to as thorough a conviction that they hang in suspense between heaven and hell, as the soldier, under a sentence of decimation does, that he hangs in suspense between life and death. The very chance or possibility of going to a place of everlasting torment, would damp and dismay the most ardent spirits. We should all be plunged, as hypochondriacal people so often are, into religious melancholy and madness. Melancholy, by fixing the microscope of undivided attention on spiritual concerns, gives them a reality equal to that of present things.

* A letter from Spain, touching the manner of the death of king Philip III. directed to Gondomar, the Spanish lieger ambassador here in England, A. D. 1621, found among Dr. Birch's collection of manuscripts in the British Museum, No. 4108. Gonçalo de Cespedes, lib. i. cap. 18.

† FELIPPE PIO Y BUENO.

sion

sion of the Morescoes, was, in fact, no other than a human sacrifice. By doing his kingdom an injury, and suppressing the voice of humanity, the king imagined that he did a service to God. If he had been a Pagan prince, he would have shed the blood of his prisoners of war with the utmost profusion. Had a king of Dahomy been on the throne of Spain, he would have driven the Jews and Moors to the desarts of Africa. Such are the inhuman effects of bigotry and superstition. The inoffensive and amiable manners of Philip III. would have adorned a private station; but he was averse to the trouble, and destitute of the principles and the talents for governing a great kingdom.

Review of his reign.

THE disposition of the minister, upon whom, on his accession to the throne, he devolved the honours and the cares of government, was, like his own, gentle and pacific; and pacific measures were necessary in the exhausted state of the empire. But a spirit of domination had taken root in the councils of Spain; the confidents and veteran commanders of Philip II. still breathed war; war was the general voice of the nation; and, though peace was the interest of the monarchy, its predominant passion was the love of glory. The nobles had recovered in the present, a considerable

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considerable share of that importance which they had lost during the two preceding reigns. And if the king was governed by the dukes of Lerma and Uzeda, these ministers were themselves obliged, in all momentous affairs, to comply with the general bent of the kingdom. The ambitious maxims which had been impressed on the ductile mind of Philip, from his earliest infancy, religious prejudices, and the warlike temper of the nation, prevailed for many years over that love of tranquillity which distinguished both the king and his minister, and also over the interests of the nation. The war was prosecuted, but not with success. The military discipline, valour, and skill of the Spaniards, were yet undiminished; but vigour and prudence were wanting in their councils. No attention was paid to the trade and manufactures of the Netherlands, Portugal, or Spain. The chief object with administration, was to bring home in safety the treasures of America*; remittances, which distance and the naval power of the enemy rendered infinitely slow and precarious, and which passed with rapidity, through a thousand channels, into the hands of their industrious enemies. The resources of war were

* Amounting, at that time, to about thirteen millions of *pesos*, or dollars: the efficient or commercial value of which was six or seven times as much as at present, 1808.

dried

dried up; the public finances were deficient; yet, even in this situation of affairs, plans were formed for exciting a rebellion in France; and an armament was equipped for the conquest of Ireland. The attention of the Spaniards was thus distracted by different views, and diverted from that which, while they chose to pursue it, ought to have been its only object.

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THE attachment to liberty, the enthusiasm of religion, laborious industry, with public and private œconomy prevailed, but not till after a struggle of near half a century, over the wealth, the reputation, and disciplined valour of the numerous armies of Spain; and this haughty nation was obliged at last to hearken to terms of accommodation. It was indeed in a great measure owing to misconduct and want of vigour on the part of the Spanish ministers, that the war had not been attended with greater success; but they had judged wisely in resolving to bring it to a conclusion. Nor was there any reason to doubt that the truce would prove as advantageous to the Spaniards as to the Dutch, if those who held the reins of the Spanish government should afterwards conduct themselves with that prudence, moderation, and wise œconomy, which they

BOOK VI. they might have been taught by past experience.

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But the world was yet ignorant that domestic industry is preferable to extended dominion. This doctrine, which is but just beginning to influence the cabinets of princes, in the period under review, was scarcely thought of; nor has it yet had any visible influence in the councils of Spain, after its truth has been proved by the experience of near three centuries. That the strength of any country chiefly consists in the industry and number of its inhabitants, is indeed a truth deducible not only from experience, but from reason. A kingdom, compact and populous, has a mighty advantage over one thinly inhabited and of great extent. The former resembles a garrison within the narrow limits of a well-constructed fortress, which is able to resist assaults of superior numbers without, and often to make successful sallies: the latter, a fortification on too large a scale, whose extensive works cannot be defended with effect, against all the attacks of a vigilant and active enemy. This important truth is illustrated in a very striking manner, by the circumstances of the Spanish monarchy during the reign of Ferdinand of Arragon, contrasted with

with its situation in that of Philip III. In the first of these periods the dominion of Spain extended over the kingdom of Naples, and all the islands of the Mediterranean, from the Streights of Gibraltar to the southern extremity of Italy, besides Tripoli, Bugia, Oran, Mazalquivir, and other towns on the coast of Africa. The small kingdom of Portugal, though governed hitherto by its native princes, it was easy to foresee, would sooner or later be reduced by policy or by arms, under the power that so greatly preponderated in that peninsula, of which it formed a part. The vicissitudes of fortune had never conspired more harmoniously with the operations of nature to form a mighty and durable empire. The branches were not so ponderous, or stretched out to so great a length, as to fall off and to lacerate the parent stock: but, on the contrary, they were such as returned the nourishment they drew, with increase. The populousness, the industry, the martial spirit of Spain, rendered it at that period the most powerful monarchy in Europe, and formidable to all its neighbours. But in the reign of Philip III. the imperial power of Spain, which extended over a greater part of the globe than that of Rome in the zenith of her power, was foiled in the contest with a small terri-

BOOK VI. tory, peopled with fishermen, manufacturers and merchants.

1621. THE Spanish nation, after this mortifying defeat, sought to conceal its want of power by an increase of pomp and splendour*; and to recover, and even extend its authority by intrigue and negotiation. The first of these arts, in the present times, appears somewhat frivolous. It ought, however, to be considered, that in those days the ancient hospitality and magnificence still remained, and were considered as very important circumstances in government†. As to the second, never certainly were intrigues and negotiations conducted with more address, or crowned with greater success. The Spanish ambassadors generally governed the courts at which they resided: and it was in the reign of the feeble Philip III. that those chains were forged, which for so many years alarmed the nations, and which, if they had not been burst asun-

* See Appendix, D.

† Chamberlayne mentions, as a proof of the moderation and œconomy of the elector Palatine, that when he came to England to pay his court to the princess Elizabeth, he had a small train of sober well-fashioned gentlemen, servants and all, not exceeding one hundred and seventy. Birch's Collection of Manuscripts in the British Museum.

der

der by the vigorous arm of Gustavus Adolphus, and the generals trained up to war under his standard, would have extended the authority of Austria over Europe. BOOK VI. 1621.

WHILE few nations, from the Euxine and the Baltic to the Pyrenean mountains, escaped the calamities of war, Spain enjoyed the supreme blessing of profound peace. The success of her arms in Germany retrieved that loss of reputation which she had suffered in the Netherlands. And as it is the prerogative of military renown to dictate many circumstances of custom and fashion, the dress and manners of Spain were very generally imitated by other nations*. The magnificence of the court was supported at an incredible expence; and the Spaniards were still esteemed the first nation in the world. This splendid face of things had an imposing air abroad; but the nation at home, oppressed with taxes, suffered for all its acquisitions and triumphs.

* As it is common to say of a man of fashion, on his return from the continent, that he is very much Frenchified, so in those times travellers generally became very much Spanishified. "Mr. Rossingham (says Mr. Chamberlayne) is come home so Spanishified that I hardly knew him when he saluted me." Mr. Birch's Collection of Manuscripts in the British Museum.

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Maritime and Colonial Affairs.

THE reign of Philip III. in Europe, though very busy, and influenced in some measure by the same views of universal monarchy that actuated his predecessor, did not manifest any symptoms of bold enterprize and ambition. The great object was to maintain the dominion and authority of Spain, rather than to extend them. In the maritime and colonial history of Spain, during that period, we find grander designs, livelier hopes, and more animated exertion: which are plainly to be traced to the fanaticism of religion, and the enthusiasm of discovery and conquest in new regions of the earth, which pervaded all ranks of Spaniards since the days of Columbus, Ferdinando Cortez, Pizarro, and Almagro. In this course of exploration, conquest, and colonization, the court did not give, but follow the impulse of the nation. The king and the court of Spain, though generally slow in their resolves, and languid in their execution, displayed greater promptitude and alacrity when the national affairs of Spain were closely combined with those of religion. Philip was truly a pious prince. His courtiers, it may be presumed, were at least tinctured with

with religious bigotry, though the duke of Ossuna was an exception; and all of them would be ready to do homage to what was both the humour of the prince, and the spirit of the nation. Barclay, in his *Jcon Animorum*, written in the reign of Philip III., and dedicated to Lewis XIII. of France, speaking of the national character of the Spaniards of that age, says, that "they identify their own passions and inclinations with the will of the Deity, and with great address, on the pretence of fighting his battles, make conquests for themselves. They do every thing in the name of God. This serves as a preface to all their undertakings, as dramatic scenes are introduced by prologues. They rouze, as much as they can, a general odium against their enemies; and would have it believed that, in their wars, they are the instruments of divine wrath and vengeance, whether against heresy or idolatry *."

The grand spring of the Spanish policy, from the time of Ferdinand of Arragon, was, to maintain a most intimate connection between royalty and superstition. The court protected the church, and the church maintained and

* Numini suas cupiditates imputant, et vetat pro illo depugnantes, &c. Jcon Animorum, cap. vii.

exalted the rights and privileges of the sovereign, whom they considered as the prime minister in temporal matters, and as it were the ally both of the Pope and of Heaven. It was from the pope, the vicegerent of God upon earth, that the Portuguese and Spaniards had received, in equal shares, all the regions of the world undiscovered before the first voyage of Columbus. But after the conquest of Portugal, the crown of Spain claimed a right to both. The Spaniards took possession of these countries, in virtue of a grant from heaven, by erecting the sign of the cross, which they also wore on their banners, with a Latin inscription, importing, in English, "Let us follow the cross, for under this sign we shall conquer." They considered themselves as instruments employed by heaven to propagate the Christian faith. As the nations of the known world were united, under the Roman government, at the advent of Jesus Christ, for the gracious end of facilitating the progress of the Gospel at that period, so it was imagined by the learned among the Spaniards, that the vast extension of the Spanish monarchy into every quarter, and over so great a portion of the globe, was intended, in the course of Providence and of grace, for the same gracious purpose; especially as the discovery of America and the Philippine

Philippine and other isles, and of the route to India by the Cape of Good Hope, coincided so nearly in time with the appearance of *Lutheranism*, which they called the NORTHERN BLAST, or plague. The constant professions of the Spaniards, when they came to any unknown country or people, were, that they came to enlighten them with the knowledge of the truth, and to conduct them in the way of happiness here and hereafter.

As zeal for religion was the pretext, or, perhaps, blended and adulterated with human passions, in many instances the real motive for ardent and dangerous enterprises, so it was the great instrument of their accomplishment. A spirit of adventure, heightened by success, and inflamed by a zeal for religion, excited a grandeur of design, and supported a spirit of courage, patience, and perseverance in the execution of various projects. An additional interest was given to all that concerned the Spaniards, by the idea that their interests were those of heaven. And this conceit was cherished among the mass of the adventurers by means of those pretended miracles which, they were told from time to time, were wrought by the Virgin Mary, more usually denominated the Mother of God, and the Queen of Heaven, in their favour. The

armaments of Spain were accompanied by small detachments of regular clergy of different orders. These were established, with the countenance and aid of government, in the countries into which the Spaniards had penetrated by force of arms. And, whereas, in the histories of other discoveries, conquests, and settlements, the narrative turns chiefly, if not solely, on war, political intrigue, and negotiation, in those of the Spanish conquests and colonies in America, we read fully as much of priests and preaching; Dominicans, Franciscans, and Carmelites, but, above all, of Jesuits. There we see vast provinces converted to Christianity, and brought under the dominion of the king of Spain, by religious men, armed only with the sword of the Gospel.

Nor were the military men, to whom the conduct of the expeditions was entrusted, themselves contemptible preachers. Oliver Cromwell's officers were not better acquainted with the doctrines of Calvin, than the Spanish commanders were with the nature of the alliance between the church of Rome and the crown of Spain, or more ready and able to communicate their faith to others. This mixed mode of making conquests, this union of arms with religion, together with the simplicity and ignorance

rance of the poor savages over whom they were made, is well illustrated by an expedition from the confines of Mexico, into more northerly parts of America, in the year 1530, under Nunno de Guzman, who transmitted a narrative of his proceedings to the emperor Charles V. of which narrative we find an abridgment, translated into English, from Ramusios, in *Purchas's History of Pilgrims.* From this abridgment the following are extracts :—

"I went from Mechùacan with one hundred and fifty horsemen, and as many footmen, well armed, and with twelve small pieces of artillery, and seven or eight thousand Indians, our friends, and all necessaries for the discovery and conquest of the country, from the Terlichichimeche, which border with New Spain. I arrived at the river of the purification of Saint Mary, so called for passing it on that day; and because the country was of the enemies, I determined to plant there three great crosses which I carried with me, well wrought, and of good proportion, which, after mass said, in procession with trumpets, the captains and I carried on our shoulders, and planted one in the river, and a second before a church of the purification begun to be builded, and a third

third before the way which I was to pass: to the which crosses, with all devotion, we afterwards made due prayer. This done, the standards of the cross began to be erected in the land of those infidels, which had not been done since the Christians entered those parts. Incontinently some people met us in peace, yielding themselves, and promising service. Meanwhile the church was finished, and walled about, that fifteen or twenty horsemen might lodge within. There mass was said, and a sermon was preached. After which, certain ordinances were read, for good order to be kept in the army. After this, on the seventh of February, possession was taken in your Majesty's name, of that new discovery, and on the fourteenth was made the request which is accustomed to be made*.

"In regard of accusations made against Caconci, Lord of Mechuacan, for rebellion and conspiracy to have slain us, I marched against him, and found the information true, besides other information in sacrificing Indians and Christians, as he had used to do

* Relating to feudal grants of lands, with personal services or repartimientos of Indians, and offices under Government.

before

before he was a Christian, whereupon I condemned him to the fire, as may be seen in the process against him. Having executed this man, and pacified the country, I left a Spaniard in a fortress built there by the Indians, and travelled six days in a country not inhabited, three of them down the river, leaving at every lodging place a cross.

"On the sixth day, we came to the province of Cuinao, full of good towns, and abounding in victuals. The people at first had armed themselves for resistance, but when I sent Barius against them, they were all fled to the mountains. The light horse took some of the slowest, not without making some defence. I sent them word not to be afraid, but to return to their houses, and give their obedience, which they refusing, I marched against them with three squadrons, and sent the overseer on one part, and captain Ognate on the other, and I was at their backs. The overseer found none but women and children. Ognate encountered with about one hundred men, who, with their bows and arrows, wounded slightly two horses and three men; but many of them were slain, and others taken, with women and children, about five hundred, which I caused to be kept together, lest the Indians (who accom-

accompanied, and were on the side of the Spaniards), should sacrifice them after their wont. The Cazique was fled to the next province, called Cuinaquiso, of another segnoree and language. Because he came not at my sending, I went to seek him. Entering that province, where were many towns, and great store of maize and fruits; we found many people dead, sacrificed, which had, out of the former province, retired thither for fear of us, with many pieces of flesh, which they use to eat. I sent many prisoners to their friends, to let them see that I came not to slay them. The overseer encountered three hundred armed with bows and arrows, which the day before had killed four of our Indians. They set upon ours, singing, and killed a horse, but having lost one hundred of their company, the rest escaped. I found my men cutting the horse in pieces, that the enemy might see no sign of him, whereby they might know that a horse could die.

"I PROCURED the Cazique to come to me with all his principal men, whom I entertained with much kindness, and made a speech to them, giving them to understand *what God was, and the pope, and what they ought to do to be saved: and how the king of Castille was the minister of God on earth, and lord*

lord of all those parts subject to him; and that to me, in his royal name, they were to yield obedience and service; and that they should abstain from sacrificing to idols and devils, which they had hitherto done, because God alone was to be worshipped, feared, and served, and after him, they ought to serve and obey on earth, the king of Castille. The Cazique answered, that till that hour, he had never known any thing of that which I had spoken; but that he now conceived great pleasure to have understood it, and that from henceforth, he would hold for God, the KING OF CASTILLE, and worship him. I answered, that he ought not so to do, for the king of Castille was a mortal man, as we ourselves are, but that he was lord and sovereign over us all, and given to us of God to rule and govern us, and we were to serve and obey him. And God above, which created Heaven and earth, and all things visible and invisible, is He which ought to be worshipped, feared, and served above all things, for as much as he giveth us, and of his hands we hold the life and being which we have, and he is able to take it from us at pleasure.

"IN this manner he stood advised of that which he ought to do; although their wit and capacity be very small, and their will dis-

disagreeing by reason of their ancient custom of serving the devil. But seeing all things must have a beginning and labour, and herein the Grace of God is necessary, and the Holy Ghost to be infused, it is to be hoped and believed of his infinite gentleness and mercy, that having directed your majesty to discover this place and conquest, in virtue thereof and good fortune, after that of God, all things shall be done prosperously, and He will suffer to give to this nation knowledge of the truth. And if it be not so suddenly done, yet the way shall be opened, and the country conversed in, and inhabited of Christians, which adore and love His holy name, where, before, the devil was adored with so many idolatries; and the banners of His most holy Cross, shall be fixed in all those countries, that when He shall send His Grace, those nations may be prepared to receive it. I gave to that Cazique all the people which I had taken, and they began to re-inhabit their houses. And after a most sumptuous Cross placed there, and possession of those provinces taken in your majesty's name, I departed by the way of another province called *Cuisco*.

"Great are the sins of all men living, seeing God permits so great abominations to be

be committed against His Divine Majesty, and that such a multitude of souls are lost, and remain blind as brute beasts, and worse; for they follow their natural course, which these have lost: *Although some men not only publish the war which is made upon them to be unjust, but also seek to disturb it, being the most worthy and holy work, and of most merit, (with the punishing of that nation) that nothing can be done in the service of God greater, howsoever it be done by the hands of great sinners, and especially be me, who am the greatest of all sinners. Be it known to your majesty, that wheresoever I come, I give the people to understand, what God is, and what your majesty is**."

Spirit in which the Spanish conquests were made in America.

It was in this spirit, by such a combination of spiritual with carnal warfare, that the dominion of Spain was established in America. And accordingly the Spanish historians of the sixteenth century are fond of making oblique comparisons between the destiny of the Spaniards and that of the Israelites, who destroyed, exterminated, enslaved, or, at the best, imposed tribute on the ancient inhabitants of Canaan. But while the military ad-

* PURCHAS HIS. PILGRIMS, lib. viii. chap. 3. sect. 1.

venturers covered, or blended their avarice, cruelty, and every evil passion with mistaken notions and a shew of religion, the ministers of religion, that accompanied their expeditions, though tinctured with the folly of bigotry and superstition, were, on the whole, true to the cause of God and man. They set their face against the oppressive tyranny of their countrymen. They transmitted remonstrance on remonstrance against this, both to the viceroys of Mexico and Peru, and to the kings of Spain. They displayed in their lives and the whole of their conduct every amiable and every heroic virtue: the mildest patience, tenderest compassion, the most active benevolence, the most exalted courage. There is an active fortitude, and there is a passive fortitude: the latter, certainly not greater than the former. It was voluntary suffering that crowned the great pattern of virtue with the highest degree of glory to which it is possible for human, or any moral nature to reach. In the most daring enterprizes, and fiercest encounters, the spirits are excited; much of the distress, difficulty, and danger is shaded by the tumult of passion; and necessity, and sometimes despair, carry men through conflicts, as by force, where calm fortitude could never make its way. The ministers of religion suffered all the privations incident to the exploration

ration of unknown and savage countries with cheerfulness. They encountered danger and death, in the service of God, and for the salvation of souls, by a deliberate choice. Their practice gave credit and efficacy to the divine and benevolent doctrines they taught. Their conduct, so unusual and unaccountable, on any human motives or grounds, was, in fact, a moral miracle. This was an argument that spoke home to the breasts of the most untutored of men.

It was by such moral miracles, such supernatural and divine sacrifices of selfishness, to the good of mankind and the will of heaven, which captivate the understanding and ravish the heart, that Christianity was at first propagated over the known world. It is by a similar enthusiasm, and total disregard to earthly concerns, that religious sectaries, at first, and for some little time, gain converts. Churches, long established and wealthy, can boast of more learned philologists, acuter logicians, and more accomplished orators: but such men have never yet, by this human wisdom, made converts among savages, barbarians, nor indeed among the mass of the people, in any country. —Sloth, luxury, cupidity, and all manner of vice and immorality were introduced into both the churches and monasteries of Spanish America in process of time: but during the

first four reigns of the Spanish monarchs over the Indies, while a conflict was to be sustained, in the progress of colonization, and while the first ardours of the mendicant orders, and, above all, of the Jesuits, were not evaporated, the ministers of religion were as much distinguished by courage, constancy, and perseverance in their designs, as the military adventurers, both officers and privates, were for bravery, unremitting energy, and patience in arms.

Most prominent features in the character of both the invaders and invaded in Spanish America.

It is this undaunted and persevering resolution on the part of the Spaniards, together with the intrepidity and contempt of danger and pain, exhibited by the more warlike tribes or nations of Indians, that appear as the most prominent objects, the great outlines in the history of the Spanish conquests and colonization in both North and South America: if, indeed, we are not as much struck with the general character of the Indians, in which is combined the most profound ignorance and perfect simplicity with the highest degree of artifice in war, sloth with toil, and propensity to revelry and all manner of sensual pleasure, with a firmness and strength of mind far exceeding what was ever displayed, in fact, by the school of Zeno, and even surpassing any thing that they could have really believed to be practicable.

ALMOST the whole of the Spanish kingdoms and provinces of Spain in America had been discovered, though imperfectly explored, and possession taken by the erection of crosses, in the reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella, and the emperor Charles V.; not by any regular exertion of the national force, but by private adventures, under the auspices and with the encouragement of government. Under the reign of Philip II. scarcely any discovery was made in America, and not any conquests; unless, indeed, we ought to comprehend under that name the actual settlement, not without resistance on the part of the Indians, of a few colonies in countries discovered, claimed, and partly subdued, but not occupied. The measures by which the ultramarine government of Philip II. was chiefly distinguished were two: the colonization of the Philippine isles *, which were attached to the viceroyalty of Mexico, together with the establishment of a regular trade between those distant parts of his vast dominions, and the introduction of the Inquisition into the Spanish colonies †.

* A. D. 1564.

† A. D. 1571. Torquemada tells us that the establishment of this holy tribunal in New Spain, was productive of the greatest benefits. It had purified the land from Jews, including the mixed race of Jewish and Portuguese blood, and heretics! Monarquia Indiana, lib. quinto. cap. xxiv.

THE station chosen for the capital of the new establishment in the Philippines, was Manilla in the island of Luconia. A great commerce was maintained between these isles and China, and such numbers of the industrious and active Chinese flocked to Manilla, that in 1603, when they amounted to upwards of twenty thousand, they wished to destroy or subject to their obedience the Spaniards, an attempt which was not frustrated without the greatest bloodshed; the loss of many Spaniards, and so great a slaughter of the Chinese, that they were reduced from the number just mentioned, to little more than five hundred *.

THE Chinese supplied the Spanish colony in the Philippines with all the valuable productions and manufactures of the east, in such abundance, as enabled it to open a trade with America, by a course of navigation, the longest from land to land, on our globe. It was at first carried on with Callao, on the coast of Peru. But Acapulco, on the coast of New Spain, was afterwards chosen as a more convenient emporium; and to this, after a short time, the trade with the Philippines was restricted.

* Torquemada Monarquia Indiana, lib. quint. cap. lxi.

The Coast of California explored.

In the course of the navigation between the Philippines and New Spain, a headland was discovered on the American coast, nearly in the forty-second degree of north latitude, which, in honour of the viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, was called Cape *Mendoçino*, from whence to the port of the Nativity in New Spain, where the ships were at first fitted out that went to the Philippines, there appeared to be a continuation of *Terra Firma*, or a Continent. The navigators sent out by the viceroy to explore the coast as far as this promontory, opposed by north-west winds, were unable to advance farther than the Bay of La *Magdalena*, in latitude 25°. Other attempts were made to take possession, and to make discoveries on the coast of California, particularly one by the viceroy of Mexico, the Condé de Monterey. Two ships, and some smaller vessels, with a military force, and a proper number of priests and women, under the command of captain Sebastian Vizcaino, after eight days sailing from New Spain, arrived at the mouth of the Great Gulf, or Mediterranean Sea of California. The general, Vizcaino, accompanied by more than one hundred soldiers, and all the religious men, who were five in number, including a lay brother, went on shore, where there was assembled a great number of naked Indians, armed with bows and arrows, and stakes with their sharp

points hardened by fire, which they use as half-pikes or javelins, and are formidable weapons.

THE Indians did not shew any marks of hostility towards the Spaniards, but rather of good will and kindness: though both Spaniards and Indians being mutually afraid, kept at a distance, and watched each others motions. But as the territory where the Spaniards had landed did not please the general, he returned with his people to the ships, and, towards the evening, passed on to another port, to which he gave the name of St. Sebastian: and having called a council of his principal officers, he determined to take possession of the country at this post, in the name of the king. The royal standard was set up, amidst the firing of cannon, in the presence of a great multitude of Indians who had come to see the strangers, as well as in that of the greater part of the people belonging to the armament. From Port Sebastian the general dispatched a party of thirty men, with one of the friars to view and make a report of the inland parts of the country; its natural productions, the manners and modes of life of the inhabitants. The mass of this party being totally unacquainted with the country, they lost themselves on a mountain, and after wandering about for three days, found their way

way back to the ships. But two or three of their number, parting from the rest, penetrated to the abodes of the Indians, and wished to go into their houses, which the Indians would not permit. However, they gave the Spaniards what they had, to eat, regaled them with various kinds of fish and fruit, and presented them with some pearls; giving them to understand, at the same time, by signs, that they must not remain in any of the villages, or districts inhabited by Indians; but return to the place from whence they had come: which the Spaniards did. The report they made was, that they had seen a great number of people, and multitudes of women and children that came in crowds about them to see them. Their houses were some of them under ground, and some of them scooped out of rocks.

The Indians of the different *rancherias*, or assemblages of huts in those parts, came every day to the Spaniards at St. Sebastian, manifesting every token of good will and a disposition to peace. But the general, though he remained fifteen days at Port Sebastian, did not land either the horses, provisions, or women, judging the place unfit for a settlement, on account of the great scarcity of water. He therefore determined to push on further

to the north, in quest of a more commodious situation. They discovered an excellent harbour, to which they had given the name of *La Paz*, because the natives, who appeared to be very numerous, were also of pacific, placid, and mild dispositions, and expressed by signs the greatest satisfaction and joy at the arrival of the Spaniards; who immediately on their landing constructed huts for themselves, of the branches of trees, and such other materials as were at hand, as well as a small church or place of worship.

When the natives saw that these new guests were not likely to make them only a transient visit, they came every day to the camp in great numbers, bringing fruit, and fish dressed in their manner, that is, barbecued. In the mean time, the religious men of the armada took every opportunity of conversing with the Indians, giving them to understand, by signs, the errors of their past life, and how much it would contribute to their well being, if they would commit their children and young folks to their care, to be instructed in the knowledge of the true God, and all the graces and virtues of the Christian faith. The Indians had no hesitation in doing so. Both old and young listened to the ministers with great attention,

and treated them with the greatest kindness and respect. They took great delight in seeing them perform divine service at the altar, and go through all the ceremonial of the mass. They asked whether it was the children of the sun that they were worshipping? When they found that the fathers were meek and humble in their deportment, and that they always received and entertained them kindly, they brought them more and more of their children, who were very docile, and appeared disposed to put both themselves and their children wholly under their direction. But they shunned as much as they could, the company of the soldiers, who took every thing from them by force, and treated them with contempt and insolence. They endeavoured to persuade the fathers to remain with them in their country, and let the soldiers, who were bad people, go away without them.

VIZCAINO, not contented with having advanced thus far, ordered the Almiranta, with a long boat, to penetrate farther into the gulf, for the purpose of making new discoveries, and, if possible, to explore it in its whole extent. Wherever the Spaniards went on shore, they were always well received by the natives. As they drew near to some havens, the Indians threatened them with their

arrows,

arrows, and made signs to them not to land. On such occasions they pursued their course onward to the distance of about an hundred leagues from the camp at the port of La Paz. The pilot and the captain were desirous of going farther; but the soldiers peremptorily refused to go, on account of the scarcity of provisions. And indeed, if their return to the camp had not been forwarded by a favourable wind, they must have all perished of hunger. It was the intention of Vizcaino to prolong his stay in California till he should have learned more of the country; but his company being reduced to the allowance of only one small dish of maize per day, and without the smallest hope of receiving any supply of provisions in those parts, he was under a necessity of returning to New Spain. In his return to Acapulco he surveyed the ports of Chiametlan and Colima, and left there some of his people*.

THE

* The precise date of this expedition I have not marked, because it appears to be somewhat uncertain whether it took place towards the end of the reign of Philip II. or in the beginning of that of Philip III. Torquemada dates in 1596, but he says that it was under the viceroyalty of the Condé de Monterey, which Mr. Alexander Dalrymple, in his Historical Collections of Voyages and Discoveries in the South Seas, places between the years 1603 and 1607. It would

THE voyages of discovery that had now been made to California had sufficiently proved that both the country and the people were well worthy of cultivation. But there was still a great deal to be done in the way of discovery, and the principal object which both the Philips had in view, in the navigations northward, was unaccomplished. Philip III. found among his papers left, and recommended to his serious perusal by his father, one containing a report which had been made to that prince himself by certain strangers, of their having been driven by stress of weather from Baccalaos, on the coast of New Foundland, through the North into the South Sea, by the straits of ANIAN, known now by the name of Beering's Straits. They told his majesty of many wonderful things they had seen in the course of their voyage, and, among others, of a great, rich, and populous city, well fortified, and well governed; the people being orderly in their conduct, and civil and courteous in their manners. That such a report was made to Philip, cannot be doubted,

would be reasonable to follow the Spanish historian, if he did not himself tell us that he had not always in so great a multiplicity of transactions and successions of viceroys, been able to ascertain dates. *Monarquia Indiana prologo al libro primero.* But here again we are puzzled; for Torquemada dates a subsequent voyage to California, directed by Monteiro, 1602-3.

and

and as little that those strangers practised on the mind of his Catholic majesty, in the same manner, and with the same views, as Sir Walter Raleigh did, in the same age of discovery and adventure, on that of James I. of England. However, as the northern ocean was not then so fully explored as it has been in our times, it is not to be wondered at that their tale was listened to with attention and interest.

AGAIN, as the coast towards Cape Mendocino was exposed to violent storms, and did not present any place fit for the succour and repair of the ships that traded to Spanish America from the Philippines and China, it became an important object to make a survey of the whole coast from that promontory to Acapulco. For these reasons the king, Philip III. gave it in charge to the viceroy of Mexico, the Condé de Monterey, to have a survey of this coast made with all possible diligence and accuracy; and also that the armada employed in this service should penetrate as far as possible into the northern ocean, in order to discover, if possible, a passage from the South to the North Sea.—It is probable that the king of Spain would not have been so solicitous about the discovery of such a passage, if the maritime strength of England and other northern powers had been as great then as at present.

present.—It was understood that the viceroy was to fit out the expedition, according to what was customary with the Spaniards, at his own expence, under the usual encouragement. Monterey undertook the business with great cheerfulness and alacrity. But as the intended armament would be more than ordinarily expensive, the king ordered part of the expence to be furnished out of the royal treasury of Mexico.

Two ships of war, the capitana, or captain's ship, called the San Diego, and the admiral's, the Saint Thomas, with a frigate, the *Three Kings*, and a long-boat for entering bays and creeks, were fitted out at the port of Acapulco. The captain general was the same Vizcaino, who had commanded in the former expedition; the admiral, captain Toribio Gomez de Corvan. They had on board five priests, and a cosmographer, as Torquemada says, or, it is presumed, what we call an astronomical hydrographer, with proper assistants, whose business it was to mark with precision latitudes and longitudes, to describe the regions to which they should pass, and give also some written account of them to his majesty. The captain, when the armament was ready to sail, calling all his people together, explained the object of the voyage, which was discovery, and exhorted them to preserve concord

concord with one another, and to pay respect and obedience to their superiors, especially to the religious men, on whom he chiefly depended for success in the voyage. "After hearing a sermon, and receiving the holy sacraments of confession and communion, they set sail on the fifth of May, 1602, being Sunday, and the day of that glorious martyr, St. Angelo, of the order of the Carmelites *."

HAVING sailed two leagues from the harbour, in pursuance of their destination, they bent their course to the north-west, struggling incessantly with the north-west wind, and tacking about, the plummet being never out of their hand, during the whole course of their voyage northward along the coast of California, which took up the space of nine months, and exhibiting the most admirable proofs of courage, patience, perseverance, and nautical skill or address. The dexterity as well as courage of the Spanish navigators of the sixteenth century, is said, by the best

* Torqu. Ind. Mon. lib. quinto, cap. 47. These circumstances are noticed, not certainly as deserving a place in general history, but merely as an example of that spirit of religion, mingled with superstition, which characterized the Catholic, and particularly the Spaniards, at this period. The Spanish historians of those times in marking the dates of events are always careful also to notice when any undertaking of importance was begun or accomplished under certain aspects, or *conjunctions* of the stars.

judges

judges of those matters, never to have been surpassed, if allowance be made for the improvements in astronomy and navigation in more recent times, and hardly indeed to have been equalled.

On the second of June they reached the isles of Mazatlan, on the coast of Chiametlan*. From the isles and harbour of Mazatlan the armament

* Though it is not the present design to give any other than a very general sketch of those voyages of discovery, and little more than a concise account of their courses and results, a digression is here solicited by a fact in natural history, not, it is presumed, generally known, and in the highest degree curious and interesting. It is universally known that all animals provide for their young, and that many of them unite for their mutual defence and protection. Yet, when any of their number are overtaken with calamity, and unable to provide for themselves, they are usually abandoned by their selfish companions to their fate. They sometimes join their resources for the common safety against the enemy; but they have not hospitals for the sick and wounded. In the isles of Mazatlan, and on other shores of America to the north, there is a bird, of a size and appearance somewhat like those of a goose, and called an *alcatraz*. When an alcatraz, by any accident, is confined to one spot, and unable to go in quest of food, which is chiefly a small fish, like our sprats, called a *sardine*, his kind and compassionate associates bring supplies to him, from time to time in the greatest abundance. The Indians perceiving this, are at great pains to catch an alcatraz, and tether it to a tree or a stake, that they may share in the liberal supplies of *sardines* with which his table is constantly furnished. In the island of St. Roque, on the west coast

armament crossed the mouth of the gulph to a bay fast by St. Lucas, the most southerly point of the great peninsula of California.

Bay of St. Barnabas.

As they entered this bay on the day of St. Barnabas, they gave it the name of St. Barnaby. While they were furling their sails, a great number of naked Indians crowded to the shore, armed with bows and arrows, and some with darts, tossing up the sand with their hands in the air, and making a great noise, as if they meant to say something to the two ships. The general and admiral, with the priests, some officers, and a dozen of soldiers armed with muskets, went on shore in one of the long-boats to see what they wanted. The Indians, being afraid of this armed party, fled to a small hill, till they should see if the strangers meant to do them any harm. The whole of the Spaniards now landed; and the Indians, as the Spaniards advanced towards them, retired to a distance. On this one of the friars, having received the blessing of the father commissary, went alone towards the Indians, making signs of good-will and kindness. An interview ensued between the Indians on the one part, and the

coast of California, the Spaniards of this expedition found an alcatraz with its wing broken, attached with a small cord by the foot to the branch of a tree, and a great heap of sardines close by it. Torqu. Ind. Mon. cap. xlvii. xlix.

general,

general, admiral, and the friars on the other. They were entertained by the Spaniards with biscuit, and retired well satisfied to their huts. They afterwards came to the camp of the Spaniards, or tent in which mass was performed, bringing with them, for the general and soldiers, various little things, such as the skins of deer, lions, and tygers they had killed for food; ornaments for the head made of cotton, and nets, very curiously woven, for fishing.

The land around the bay of St. Barnaby is level, fertile, and very fit for tillage; the climate temperate and salubrious, and the whole country well replenished with both forest and fruit trees, and a variety of game, both birds and quadrupeds. The sea swarms with a variety of fish, particularly pearl-oysters. The Spaniards at ebb-tides picked them up dry-footed on the beach; which, bespangled with oysters half sunk in the sand and half appearing above, and reflecting the rays of the sun, in an atmosphere unsullied, as it often was, with a cloud, appeared, as Torquemada tells us on the authority of eye witnesses, like the sky in a clear frosty night, studded with stars. Yet in this place, so inviting, the general did not think it advisable to remain longer than a few days, for

taking in wood and water, and until the moon should be *in conjunction*. In the mean time, while they waited for this, they made some little repairs in their ships, and drew with their nets and lines great quantities of various kinds of fish, and all of them well savoured and wholesome.

THRICE did the armament come out, and was thrice driven back again into the bay by adverse winds. At last, on the fifth of July, it came out to the main ocean, and proceeded on its destination. Among the obstacles they had to encounter, it was none of the least, that they were very often forced by accidents to part company, and to wait, or beat about for one another at various places. The frigate kept close to the land, making its way by oars as well as sails. The Capitana and the Almiranta launched into the ocean out of sight of land, and were parted, and lost sight of each other in a very dark as well as tempestuous night. The Almiranta came to a bay, to which the admiral gave the name of *Saint Christoval*, for the usual reason, and afterwards to another beyond that, to which he gave the name of *Baja de Ballenas*, on account of the incredible number of whales that resort to it, in quest of the other kinds of fish with which it swarms. The Indians in

in this bay were of a fairer complexion than any the ship's company had ever seen before. They had also very fine countenances or physiognomies, and shewed great kindness of disposition, and courtesy of manners, making the Spaniards presents of very pretty purses of net-work, full of beautiful pearls. But the admiral did not think it safe to land in that bay to get wood and water, on account of the extreme violence with which the sea rushes both into, and out of it, in the opposite tides. He, therefore, proceeded on his voyage northward, still anxiously looking out for the CAPITANA, to the Isle of CERROS.

THE Capitana, July 20, came to a port to which the general gave the name of *La Magdalena*, where she was afterwards joined by the frigate; and both ships proceeded, discovering in their way the Island of The Assumption, to that of Cerros, where, August 31, they fell in with the Almiranta, to the inexpressible joy of all parties. While the ships' companies were resting and refreshing themselves, and washing and mending their clothes, a survey, by order of the general, was made of the Island of Cerros, which was found to be thirty leagues in circumference. The summits of the highest hills were thickly covered with lofty cedars and pines. There was a great number of Indians on the island.

These islanders were not, like so many, nay, most of the tribes on the continent, of a kind and affable disposition; but, on the contrary, fierce and intractable. They could never be brought to any peaceable and friendly intercourse with their visitors, but kept at a distance, watching their movements from the tops of the hills. When the Spaniards approached them, they threatened them with their bows and arrows, making signs to them to be gone, and quit their country.

In this island the religious men and the whole of the ships' companies, soldiers and sailors, celebrated the feast of the Nativity of their Lady, the mother of God and the queen of heaven, by a sermon, the sacrament of the communion, hymns, and carrying about an image of the Holy Virgin in solemn procession. It is astonishing how much of their time and attention was taken up during the whole of this perilous voyage of discovery with religious observations and ceremonies. The first thing they did on landing at any place was, to construct, of such materials as they could readily command, what might serve in place of a church; the last, on leaving it, and proceeding through unknown seas to unknown regions, to make their confessions at least, if not to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

The armament, having taken in wood and water, set sail from the Island of Cerros on the 9th of September, and pursuing their destination northward, touching at a number of places in their way, to which they gave names, as usual, from the saints on whose day they arrived at them, entered a large bay to which they gave the name of St. Simon and St. Judas. The principal bays or havens they entered in this stretch, were, the Bays of *St. Hippolitus*, *St. Cosmo*, *St. Damian*, the Isles of *Cenica*, *Cabo de el Enganno*, or the Cape of Deceit; the Bay of *St. Francisco*, the Isle of *St. Geronimus*, and the Bay of *Eleven Thousand Virgins*. Near the Isle of St. Geronimus there appeared a great bay, which the frigate entered and landed her men for the purpose of taking in wood and water. When the Indians saw the Spaniards, they came up to them in the most frank and friendly manner; gave them fish, of which they brought fresh supplies every morning, and shewed them the way to wells of excellent water. The Spaniards entertained them hospitably, and gave them some trifles in return, with which they were mightily pleased. News of the arrival and friendly intercourse with the strangers having reached the interior parts of the country, the Indians flocked in greater and greater numbers. They were very much

attached to the Spaniards, especially to the friars, and signified that they could not have any contentment without them. They were not only a very frank and kindly race, but remarkably tractable, docile, and prone in every thing to imitate the Spaniards. They ate of every thing they saw the Spaniards eat; and pronounced the words they learnt of the Spanish language, as if they had been natives of Spain. They did every thing they saw done by their visitors, and repeated whatever they heard spoken. The women were decently clothed with the skins of beasts, and so fruitful, that they had generally two infants at their breasts. They shewed great modesty, and a sense of propriety, decorum, and honour.

The Indians on the coast received from those of the interior, in exchange for their fish, the boiled root of a certain plant, called *maguay*, which is an excellent conserve, some other articles of food, and some fine twisted thread and cords, and purses or bags of network. Of all these things they gave the Spaniards for necklaces of glass beads, and other baubles.

Every traveller among the Indians remarks the amazing extent of their knowledge of the countries

countries around them, or of special or particular geography. It is indeed to the observation of hunters and fishers, accustomed to traverse valley beyond valley, and mountain beyond mountain, that we are indebted for the great outlines of topography, the names of fixed regions, districts, and towns, descriptive of their nature. The natural divisions of countries, which contribute so much to the advancement of intercourse and knowledge, is a most important service to science, commerce, and government; and for this service we are indebted to savages. It would never have been rendered by sedentary shopkeepers, tailors, and weavers, or other craftsmen tied down to particular and narrow spots by the nature of their employment. The Indians, on the Great Bay, near the Isle of St. Gerominus, appeared to have some acquaintance with countries, many hundreds of leagues eastward, on the rivers that fall into the gulf of Mexico. They gave the Spaniards to understand, by signs, that in the interior of the country, far off towards the rising sun, there were people with beards, who wore clothes, and were armed with muskets. They alluded, Torquemada thinks, to the colony just conducted to New Mexico, by Don Juan de Onnate, which shall be briefly noticed in its proper place.

WHILE the Spaniards lay in the bay of St. Simon and St. Judas, the boat's crew of one of the ships that had gone on shore to fetch water had a curious encounter with a party of Indians. The Spaniards, willing to gain their favour, according to the general instructions received from their superiors, paid court to them, as usual, by making them little presents. The Indians, constructing this into a proof of timidity, began to treat them with great insolence, and by way of contempt to hang their bows about the necks of the Spaniards. These indignities, when they had been for some time persevered in, were repelled by a small shower of musket balls. Four of the Indians were killed, and a number wounded. They retired to a hill, where they were reinforced by about 200 of their countrymen in arms, having their faces and bodies painted, and their heads adorned with plumes of feathers. They began to advance, in a regular column, against the Spaniards. But when they saw them, with their muskets in their hands ready to receive them, they halted, and after some consultation, it appeared, sent an Indian to the Spaniards, accompanied by a *little dog*, as a sign of peace. On this the Spaniards met them on terms of peace and amity. But the Indians could never take their eyes off from the Spanish muskets,

muskets. They made a profusion of presents, such as they had to give, in order, as they thought, through their gratitude, to conciliate their friendship.

ALL the three ships, now brought together after an alarming separation, quitting the bay of St. Simon and Judas, proceeded along the coast indented by the bay of *Todos los Santos*, and dotted with the isles of *Coronados*, to the beautiful, spacious, and commodious bay and harbour of *St. Diego*, which they entered on the 10th of December. This fine and famous harbour is, by its situation, secure from the violence of the wind in whatever quarter it blows. The mountain which defends it from the north-west wind, the *Queen*, as the Spanish writers say, of those coasts, is three leagues in length, and one and a half in thickness or breadth. It is covered with forest trees, especially oak, interspersed with rosemary and other odoriferous plants and shrubs. At the north-west extremity of the mountain there is also a harbour, which is a good one, though not to be compared to the other just mentioned.

NEXT day, after landing, while the Spaniards were employed some of them in surveying the mountain, and taking a view of the

the land and sea around from its heights, others in getting wood and water, and a third party in keeping guard against any sudden attack, and making what discoveries they could respecting the Indians, a report was made by a centinel that a great number of naked Indians was advancing towards the Spaniards, armed with bows and arrows, and bedaubed with spots or marks, black and white. One of the friars, by order of the general, accompanied by six musketeers, went to meet them, with every possible demonstration of peace and friendship. The Indians, perceiving and understanding these*, made haste to deliver their weapons into the hands of the soldiers. The friar embraced them in an affectionate manner, and made them presents of bits of lace, and strings of glass beads, which they immediately, by way of ornament, hung around their necks. They proceeded with the priest towards the general's tent, but seeing so great a number of men about it, they had not the courage to advance any farther, but retired to a small hill, from whence they sent to the general two women, very old and wrinkled in the face. These ambassadresses advanced to the general's tent in

* A piece of white cloth displayed, at the end of a pole, and handfuls of earth thrown up in the air.

an

an unconstrained and affable manner. They were entertained with biscuit, and presented with such trinkets as are acceptable to Indians and women of all countries, such as rings, ribbons, and other toys, and sent back to let their compatriots know what they thought of the strangers. Great numbers of them, after this, came frequently to the Spaniards with great freedom, and were received by the general, who was desirous by all means of conciliating the good-will of the Indians, with every mark of regard and favour.

The armament, in pursuance of its destination, left the bay of St. Diego and Judas on the 20th day of November, and proceeding still northward, discovered the great and populous Isle of St. *Catalina*. At this island the Spaniards were received with infinite kindness by the inhabitants. Old men and young, women and children, came to them in crowds, all of them shewing by their voice, countenances, and gestures, the utmost joy at their arrival. The women here were remarkable for the modesty, and respectability of their appearance, a noble carriage, charming eyes, and handsome faces. The children, both boys and girls, were in their complexion fair and ruddy. Both men and women were exceedingly affable in their manners, and their smiling counte-

countenances expressed both sensibility and goodness. Both sexes wore about their middle coverings made of the skins of sea wolves and other animals. The shores swarmed with fish, and the people had methods of catching them equally simple and ingenious. In this island there was a temple, where the inhabitants performed their sacrifices. It was a spacious enclosure of level ground, and in the centre there was another enclosure, which was circular, where the altar stood. This circus was all over bestrewed with the feathers of birds, which they sacrificed in great numbers to their idols. Within the circus, and near the altar, stood a large image, fantastically painted with the figure of the sun on one side, and of the moon on the other. When a number of the Spanish soldiers went to see this temple, they found two crows in it, of a larger size than ordinary, which, at the approach of the Spaniards, took flight to some rocks at no great distance. The soldiers, deeming them curiosities, on account of their extraordinary size, fired at them and killed them: on which, an Indian, who accompanied the Spaniards when he went to the rocks to bring down the birds, set up a loud lamentation. These birds are held by the people in great veneration. One of the priests belonging to the expedition, in strolling about one

one day, came to a place, where an Indian woman was employed in cleaning some fish for the use of her family, when he saw crows coming to her with perfect familiarity, and picking up with their beaks small fishes, or any thing she gave them out of her hand.

THE Spaniards having viewed every part of this important island, set sail from thence to explore the coast beyond it, and the numerous isles with which it was fringed, usually at the distance of about four or six leagues from one another. Some of these isles are large, others small, but all of them well inhabited, and connected by intercourse with one another as well as with the adjacent continent. This chain of isles, from the one extremity to the other, is about a hundred leagues. It was formerly mistaken by the navigators between the Philippines and New Spain for *Terra Firma*, or a continent. The distance between these isles and the opposite land is in some instances twelve leagues, in others ten, and where narrowest eight. And in the space between them and the continent there is excellent anchorage for shipping.

WHERE the interval is narrowed to eight leagues, the strait is called the *Canal of St. Barbara*, stretching from east to west to the extent of six or seven leagues. As the armada

mada approached the eastern entrance into this canal, a canoe, managed by four rowers, with the king, or cazique of that coast, came out to meet them, making up to the Capitana. The Indians, with great alertness and expedition, sailed thrice round the Spaniard, singing all the while, and then, being invited, came on board without the least fear or hesitation. The first thing the cazique did, was, to take three turns round the quarter-deck. After this, he made a long speech to the general and other officers, in his own language, which none of them understood. This being finished, he informed them, by the clearest signs, that he had received intelligence, by canoes from Santa Catalina, of ships having arrived there with men cloathed, and having beards, very well disposed and good people, who had both regaled them with things good for eating, and made them many presents. In consequence of this intelligence, he gave them to understand, he had come to visit them, and to make an offer to them of all that his country could afford. He requested, entreated, and importuned the general to land, on his territory, with all his people, promising that they should there be provided with every thing they might want. And, as he did not see any women on board, he enquired for them, by signs as natural and easily understood, as

if

if he had spoken in the Spanish language*. The general replied, that they had not any women in the ship, and that they had not any need of them. But the Indian insisted more earnestly that the general and all his ship's company should land with him in his territory, promising that he would provide the whole with ten women a piece: on which they all fell a laughing. The cazique supposing that they laughed because they imagined that he could not perform what he had declared, promised to verify what he had said, and desired that one of the soldiers should be sent on shore in the canoe, to see if what he had promised was not in his power to fulfil, while he himself, with his son, would remain as hostages in the ship until his return. The general said, he would consult with his officers on the subject, and it was agreed, that, as it was now night, the cazique should return home, and that, if it should be thought convenient, he would come to him, with the people of the ships next morning. With that the Indian, having received some presents, went back in his canoe, well contented, to make preparations for receiving and entertaining his new guests.

* Sennalando, las partes de su puridad. Torquem. Mon. Inst. lib. v. cap. liii.

He had not gone an hour when there sprung up a south-west wind, the first they had met in the voyage, during the whole of which, hitherto, they had been obliged to make their way against both winds and currents. It was not thought advisable to neglect so fair an opportunity of proceeding on their destination; especially as they could pay a visit to the cazique or king on their return. They therefore set sail, making observations and enquiries as usual, whilst they passed along the coast, and arrived on the 16th of December, in a fine bay, to which, in honour of the viceroy of New Mexico, who had equipped the expedition, at the command of king Philip III. they gave the name of *Monterey*, situated in 38 deg. of north latitude, near the mountains that are the first land seen by the ships returning from China*.

The

* Monterey became the residence of the governor of the Californias, "the extent of whose government is more than eight hundred leagues in circumference: but his real subjects consist only of 232 cavalry, whose duty it is to garrison five small forts, and to furnish detachments of four or five men to each of the 25 missions, or parishes established in Old and New California: so small are the means sufficient for restraining about fifty thousand wandering Indians in this vast part of America, among whom nearly ten thousand have embraced Christianity, and form a species of religious community. The monks are superiors in

THE general thought it now proper and necessary to transmit to the viceroy an account of the progress and discoveries made by the armada, the distressed state in which it was, and the necessity of receiving succours from home, that might enable them to persevere in the exploration of California within the gulph, as well as on the other side, or that next the main ocean. A great mortality and sickness prevailed among all ranks and descriptions of the ships' companies. There was scarcely one who could be said to enjoy perfect health. Hands were wanted to manage the sails. There was a necessity of sending one of the ships home with the sick and infirm. As much of the stores was taken out of the Almiranta as could be spared, and as many too

in both spiritual and temporal affairs. The productions of the land are entrusted wholly to their administration. There are seven hours in the day allotted to labour, two to prayer, and four or five on Sundays or festivals, which are altogether dedicated to rest and divine worship. Corporal punishments are inflicted on the Indians of both sexes. If a new convert, or one baptized, makes his escape to his relations in the independent villages, the monks cause him to be summoned three times; and if he refuse, they claim the authority of the governor, who sends soldiers to force him away, and conduct him to the missions, where he is condemned to receive a certain number of lashes with the whip.

La Pérouse's Voyage round the World.

of her men, and divided between the Capitana and the frigate. With the remaining provisions and hands she was dispatched to the port of Acapulco. And a chart of the coast was sent to the viceroy, accompanied with a written description of what had been seen and discovered. And a request was made of a reinforcement, for which the two remaining ships would wait in expectation, about the middle of May in the ensuing year, 1603, at the mouth of the Gulph of California.

THE small armada set sail from the Bay of Monterey on the 6th of January, 1603. They unfortunately parted company in a dark night; nor could the general, with all his diligence and efforts, hear any tidings of the frigate till he returned to the port of Acapulco. The Capitana, contending with a north-west wind, by slow degrees, came, on the 12th, in sight of lofty mountains, of a red appearance, and fourteen leagues north-west of these, to a promontory in the near neighbourhood of snow-clad mountains, which the pilot found to be Cape Mendocino, in the latitude N. of 41 degrees and a half.—Excessive cold, and the dread of still greater, in more northerly latitudes, for it was now the depth of winter, furious tempests, and the extreme weakness of the men, of whom there were

were scarcely six that could well stand on their feet, convinced the captain, that it was perfectly agreeable to the latitude of conduct allowed in the instructions given him by the viceroy, as well as most conducive to the service of God, and of his Catholic majesty, and the good of the people under his charge, to return to Acapulco: a resolution which was approved, and gave new spirits and vigour to the sailors and soldiers, and all the company. A south wind having made it necessary to make a tack, the pilots of the Capitana found themselves, on the 19th of January, in the latitude 42 deg. N. off a cape of white land, fast by some high snowy mountains, to which they gave the name of *Cabo Blanco de San Sebastian.* A wind on the same day sprung up in the north-west, which animated such of the mariners, as retained any degree of strength, to work the ship on her return home, and in her return to look out for the frigate, and make farther observations and inquiries into the coasts and countries, along which they were to pass.

In the mean time, the frigate had penetrated as far as the 43d degree of north latitude, where there was a point of land, to which they gave the name of *Cabo Blanco.* Having entirely lost all hopes of finding the Capitana, and being reduced to great difficul-

ties and danger by sickness among the mariners and sailors, she returned homeward, with a wind as favourable as that experienced in her outward voyage had been adverse.

THE discoveries made in this voyage, were neither few, nor altogether unimportant. California came to be a port of refreshment for the ships that sail from the Philippine Isles to Mexico. But the Spanish voyages did not produce any grand results, as they were not followed up, compared and combined with subsequent reports. And here we cannot but reflect on the wonderful and incalculable benefits that accrue to mankind from two things, different in their nature, the one being moral, the other intellectual, but harmoniously conspiring to produce the same effects, and mutually to support each other, namely, civil liberty and the art of printing. For many years after this perilous, arduous, and long voyage, California was believed to be, and laid down in maps, as an island, or an assemblage of islands. Yet Cortez had, in the year 1536, surveyed its coasts, and a map of it, drawn by his pilot, but not published till more than a century afterwards, lays it down as a peninsula, stretching out nearly in the same direction which is now given to it, and the point where the *Rio Colorado*

lorado enters the gulph, is marked with great precision. It was not then very common to make surveys, and draw plans and charts of the places visited. But if any adventurer, more intelligent than his companions, made any delineation, or wrote any account of his voyage, it was not published, and seldom even deposited in the public registers; where, if any were deposited, they were buried in oblivion. The Spaniards were restrained from making a free and full communication of all their discoveries, by a fear of making other nations acquainted with what, however, it was impossible for them long to conceal. The discoveries of the preceding voyagers were of no use to their successors. There was not that co-operation which is produced by the joint operation of liberty and the printing press. Hints could not be improved, dangers that might have been foreseen were not avoided. The conquest of California had been entirely given up when, A. D. 1697, permission to undertake it was solicited, obtained, and acted upon with great success, by the Jesuits.

Obstruction to the progress of discovery and navigation among the Spaniards.

At the same time that an armament under the General Sebastian Vizcaino explored the western coast to the north of Mexico, an expedition was undertaken for making discove-

Colonization of New Mexico.

ries, and taking possession, in the name of the king of Spain, of unknown regions in the interior of the country. A colony of five thousand souls, including boys, young men, women, and soldiers, proceeded from Old Mexico northward, under the command of *Don Juan de Onnate*, as governor and captain-general, with a great train of carriages, horses, goats, and cattle, and all things necessary for subsistence, and for war offensive or defensive. The general having advanced to the 33d degree north latitude, pitched his camp at a place to which he gave the name of *Saint Gabriel*, situated between two rivers that fall into the Gulf of Mexico. He afterwards built the town of *St. Juan*, situated on the largest of these rivers, which is called the NORTH RIVER, in contradistinction to the other, which lies farther to the west and south. The North River, which is by much the greater of the two, abounds in fish of various kinds, and is, besides, well adapted to the purposes of navigation. The valley, or plain of the lesser river, watered with its streams, produces wheat, barley, maize, and other grain, as well as all manner of garden stuff. And in all those latitudes, as the soil, when watered with rivers, is most fertile, so the climate is every where delicious.

THE first consideration, in the settlement of the colony, was to conciliate the good will and confidence of the natives. The ministers of religion that accompanied, or rather that formed an essential part of the expedition, visited the villages of the Indians, at first amusing them with curiosities, making them little presents, caressing their children, and by all means shewing an interest in them, and a concern for their welfare. It was impossible to communicate religious knowledge, and especially the mysteries of the Christian faith, without some acquaintance with their language. In proportion as this was acquired, the fathers did not neglect the great object of their mission. The Indians were not insensible to these marks of friendship, and at first received the Spaniards with great kindness as well as respect. But the conduct of the soldiers towards those poor people was very different from that of the ministers. They soon gave them to understand, that the end they had in view, in coming amongst them, was not the happiness of the Indians, either here or hereafter, but to make them their servants, and pay tribute. They treated them, not with kindness, but with great harshness and cruelty, and in many instances, if we may believe the testimony of the monks, and there is no reason to doubt it, with such ferocity as

if they had been brute beasts, and not entitled to the rights of humanity. The consequence was, that they shunned the Spaniards, and fled before them as from their enemies.

In even the finest and most fertile countries the first colonists have to struggle with many difficulties and dangers, and suffer many privations. Neither the spontaneous productions of the most liberal soil, nor the conquests of fishing, or the chace, can long or fully supply the want of that great staff of life, bread made of corn. The Spaniards appear to have trusted too much to the maize, which they plundered from the Indians; and neglected, too much, to sow any kind of grain. All the maize that could be found was soon exhausted, and such of the Indians as remained in their districts, as well as the Spaniards, were reduced to the necessity of subsisting, for the most part, on the seeds and roots of vegetables that grew wild in the fields. If it had not been for this resource, with a little wheat, sown by some individuals more provident than their companions, they must all of them have perished, as many of them in fact did, of hunger. A great number of the Spaniards, officers, soldiers, and three or four of the friars, took a journey to St. Barbara, on the coast of New Biscay, in hopes of receiving some succours

cours from Mexico, for which they made application; or from ships, in their return from China. The governor, Don Juan de Onnate, punishing with death, such of the instigators of this defection, as he called it, as fell into his hands, persevered in his design, which, by a great slaughter of the Indians on the two rivers, and, forming alliances with the *Apaches*, the neighbours and enemies of the New Mexicans, he was enabled in some measure to accomplish *.

THE spirit of discovery and colonization that had been awakened in Spain by so many unexpected and great events, struck out in every direction. The attempt to discover a north-east passage to the coasts of Asia through the straits of Anian, which was still considered as possible, was followed by the celebrated voyage of *Fernando de Quiros* into the great Pacific ocean to the south of the line: the first that had been undertaken to that quarter of the globe, on scientific principles.

Spanish discoveries in the South Sea.

IN 1567, *Alvaro Mendana de Neyra* discovered a group of large islands, which, from the vast riches he supposed them to contain, he named the *Islands of Solomon*, the same with what Dampier afterwards named *New Britain*. Of

* Torquem. Monarqu. Ind. lib. v. cap. xxxvii—xl.

the

the islands which form this archipelago, Mendana counted, great and small, thirty three. He afterwards, in 1575, discovered the island of *St. Christoval*, the middle of which, according to him, lay in the 11th degree of south latitude, not far from the islands of Solomon. The picture that was drawn of these islands by Mendana, and those who accompanied him, was such as could not fail to invite the attention of government; but it was not till 1595 that any attempt was made for turning them to any advantage to the nation. In the month of April of that year, Mendana, who was appointed adelentado or governor, sailed from the port of Callao, with the design of planting a colony in those parts. His armada consisted of four ships; two large ones, the Capitana and Almiranta; a frigate, and a galley, with four hundred persons in all, among whom were his wife *Donna Isabella Barretos*, and three brothers-in-law: of which number there were two hundred and eighty that could bear arms. After discovering many islands in his voyage, and parting with the Almiranta, he anchored with the other ships at an island of negroes near *New Guinea*, very fertile and very populous, to which he gave the name of *Santa Cruz*; and here he determined, though not entirely to the satisfaction of his people, who had expected to be made rich all at once, to make a settlement. Here the adelentado died,

as

as well as many of the company and crew. By his will, which he had scarcely strength to sign, * he named his wife Donna Isabella Barretos, governess of the fleet; and Don Lorenzo Barretos, his brother-in-law, captain-general. Lorenzo having died 2d November, Donna Isabella, now in the supreme command, withdrew the establishment on account of their sickness and wants, and embarked the people who remained in the Capitana, frigate, and galley. The frigate, after leaving *Santa Cruz*, lost company and never more appeared. The Capitana with the galley, in extreme distress, reached Manilla. Donna Isabella, having, at Manilla, married *Don Fernando de Castro*, returned in his ship to New Spain in 1596. †

After the death of the adelantado Mendana, the shattered remains of the squadron was conducted to Manilla, and from thence to *Acapulco* by the chief pilot, the celebrated

* His bodily strength was exhausted by constant fatigue, and his mind overcome by many melancholy incidents, and the great obstructions that were continually presented to his views.

† A letter from Quiros to *Dr. Don Antonio Morga*, Lieutenant-General of the *Philippines*, and afterwards president of the Royal Audienza of Quito, inserted in a work published by *Morga*, at Mexico, in 1609: Sucesos de las Philippinas, 4to. Mexico, 1609, cap. vi. p. 31.

Don

Don Fernando de QUIROS, a name which navigators pronounce to be IMMORTAL.* From Mexico Quiros proceeded to Peru, where he applied, with all the energy of enthusiasm, to the new viceroy, Don Lewis De Velasco, for ships, men, and other necessaries for continuing the discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean they had begun, and, (in his own words) "To plough up the waters of the unknown sea, and to seek out the undiscovered lands around the Antarctic Pole, the centre of that horizon."

Reasoning of Quiros concerning the existence of a continent in the South Pacific Ocean.

The reasons on which he rested his firm belief of an unknown southern continent, he pressed on the consideration of the viceroy in two memorials. "Because the shadow seen in the moon in the time of her eclipse, is part of a circle, it is proved that the form of the body of earth and water which composes it, is round. Imagining about this body a line encompassing it, and dividing it into equal parts, calling the one north, the other south; from this equinoctial line begin the degrees, counting from 1 deg. to 90 deg. which is the greatest quantity of latitude towards either of the two poles. Of the north part is already discovered to more than 70 deg. What remains from thence to 90 deg. although it should be discovered, seems uninhabitable,

* Dalrymple's Historical Collection of the several Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, vol. i. p. 95.

habitable, on account of the great cold, the inequality of day and night, and other inconveniences. Of the south part is discovered to 55 deg. passing the Straits of Magelan; and to 35 deg. in which is the Cape of Good Hope, or 40 deg. and a little more, to which ships go in doubling it. These two points of land, with their coasts on each side, are already known to all. Now are wanting the rest, which remain from these and from this parallel, and to the west from a lower latitude to 90 deg. to know if it is land or water, or what part there is of both.

"The Adelentado Alvaro de Mendana, when he was sailing in 1595 towards the islands of Solomon, which he said were from 7 degrees to 12 degrees south, and 1500 leagues from the city of Lima, met with four small islands together, inhabited by so *good** a people, that

* This memorial is here translated from *Figueroa*, by Mr. Dalrymple, who, though justly celebrated as a most accomplished navigator and geographer, does not appear to have been a great linguist, of which, from so many instances of his giving what he translates, in the original Spanish, he appears to have been conscious. It were to be wished that he had given us the Spanish word which he has here translated *good*. It appears by the context, that it is not *moral good* that he speaks of: but that kind of good, or excellence which is the opposite of bad features, bad figures, and a brown complexion. And, at any rate, Figueroa must include in the word here translated *good*, both physical and moral qualities,—*So fine or goodly a people.*

there

there is no account of any other having been discovered, that can be reckoned equal to them; but (whereas) for the chief part, the Indians are ill-featured, of indifferent figures, and of a brown complexion. These four islands are in the latitude of 9 deg. and 10 deg.; distant 1000 leagues from Lima, 650 from the nearest coast of NEW SPAIN, and another 1000 from NEW GUINEA. The winds there are easterly, for which reason, to go from these islands to PERU and NEW SPAIN, it is necessary to stand to the northward, or southward, to seek, without the Tropic, those winds which are called *general:* and for this are required instruments of navigation, and vessels of burthen, which are two things (besides others very necessary) these people are destitute of. ' For these, and other reasons which might be given, it remains very obvious, that it has never been possible, in any time, to communicate with the two provinces above-mentioned; and less with NEW GUINEA and the PHILIPPINES, since, from these parts to the said islands, there is no navigating, on account of the winds being east and contrary. From the four islands no other land was visible. The embarkations of the natives are adapted for short voyages.——

" AND though it is true, that the most stupid can go in their embarkations from a small island,

island, to seek a large country, if it be near, since, if they do not hit on one part, they will another; yet, not for this, can it be admitted, that, from either a large or small country, they can, without art, seek small and far distant islands.

"AMONGST these Indians were some Mulattoes, which diversity of colour, argues a communication with other people. Besides, these four islands being small, it is to be attended to, that, in the large countries, men are scarce to be contained, but ever go in quest of others, where they may live with more convenience; besides those who leave them on dissensions, or because they cannot submit to masters, or because they wish to be such. Thus, it may be religiously believed, that there are, to the south-east, south, south-west, and more westward, other islands which lie in a chain, or a continent running along, till it joins NEW GUINEA, or approaches the PHILIPPINAS, or the SOUTHERN LAND of the Straits of Magellan, since no other places are known, whereby they who inhabit those islands, could have entered them, unless by miracle. If it goes towards the one, or to the other part, or towards both, it is likely there are many islands, or a continent, the antipodes to the greater part of EUROPE, AFRICA, and ASIA, where,

from

from 20 degrees to 60 degrees, God has made men so addicted to letters and arms, and so expert in every thing polished, bestowing on them, as is known, a temperament so well adapted.

"It follows that the like ought to be expected from these parts, at least that there is a good disposition in country and men for every thing which can be desired. Observe, that the undiscovered part is above 5000 leagues in longitude, and in some parts 70, 80, or more degrees in latitude; in short, that it is the fourth of the globe which is to be discovered.

"But leaving many other reasons which might be brought as a proof of what is affirmed, it is to be observed, that not one of all the islands hitherto discovered in the wide ocean, in all the seas of the world, was inhabited, but desert, and without men to tread upon them, except the *Ladrones*, these forming a chain which adjoins to Japan, at but small distances from one another.—For example, the island of Madeiras, those of Cape de Verde, and others of the Atlantic, which, being in the main ocean, were found uninhabited; on the contrary, the Canary islands being situated in the sight of the main land of Africa, were found with people, as is known.

Now,

"Now, since these, notwithstanding their being so near the lands of EUROPE and AFRICA, wherein the knowledge of navigation is so ancient, remained so long unknown, and were peopled by accident, what can be said of the FOUR now discovered in so wide and extensive an ocean, inhabited by a people so ignorant, and all those of these parts as ignorant as them?"

SUCH were the arguments with which Quiros supported his pretensions: nevertheless they were not then complied with. The viceroy of Peru, Velasco, heartily approved, but he wanted the king's order for carrying the design into execution. He therefore sent him to Spain, with letters to the king and ministers, in which he strongly recommended the enterprise, which was accordingly undertaken.

CONCERNING the particular or more immediate object of the voyage of *Quiros*, the Spanish historians are not agreed. The most probable opinion is, that as the last voyage of Mendana, in which, as above observed, Quiros was his chief pilot, had given a great idea of the fertility of *Santa Cruz*, together with hopes of being able to subdue its inhabitants, it was the design of Philip III. to fix an establishment there, that should serve as a point of rest and refreshment, from whence

they might, with greater advantage, push their discoveries to the south, and proceed in the search of the unknown southern continent, whose existence was supposed by Quiros, for the reasons already mentioned.

THE fleet of Quiros, consisting of two ships of war, the *Capitana* and the *Almiranta**, and a light frigate, the best constructed and armed of any that had been seen on those seas, sailed from *Calao* the 21st of December, 1605, directing its course south-west, and so round to the east. They sailed to the distance of 1000 leagues from the coast of *Peru*, without falling in with any land. At this distance, and in the 25th degree of south latitude, they discovered a small flat island, with a few scattered trees. No bottom was found, nor any anchorage upon the coast. Quiros gave it the name of *the Incarnation*. A great number of islands, some of them small, and others of large extent, began now to appear, in the progress of the voyage.—On the 9th of March they anchored at the island of *Taumaco*, eight or ten leagues round, situated in six degrees of south latitude, and 1700 leagues

* In the old Spanish histories of those times, the vessel in which the general or commander of the expedition sailed, is always called *La Capitana*, and that of the second in command, though the fleet consisted only of two ships, *La Almiranta*.

from

from Lima. The sovereign, or chief of this island, made Quiros understand, as well as he could, and in a very positive manner, that if his object was to find a large continent, he must search, not on the side of SANTA CRUZ, but to the south, where there were countries highly populous, and extending a great way in that direction. In consequence of this information, Quiros, leaving *Taucomaço*, directed his course to the south; discovering in his progress many high lands to the west, south-west, and south-east. On the 30th of April he arrived at a large open bay, where, on the first of May, he cast anchor in a spacious and convenient harbour, to which he gave the name of *La Vera Cruz*, the true Cross. The bay, in honour of the day when the armada moored there, received the name of *San Felippe y St. Jago*.

WHEN the armada first entered this bay, some *piraguas* or boats, larger than the common canoes of Indians, came to the ships, making signs of peace; yet, when the Spanish boats approached the shore of *Vera Cruz*, the Indians, and their king with them, came out to the strand, very much disturbed at their arrival, and endeavoured, with some presents of fruit to the Spaniards, to procure their return. The Spaniards leaped on shore, still, however, making signs of peace. The

Indian king, drawing a line on the ground with the point of a bow, said, that this must not be passed. But *Vaez de Torres*, disdaining, and, perhaps, thinking it impolitic to shew any appearance of fear or submission, passed the line. Scarcely had he done this, when the barbarians let fly some arrows; in return for which, some of those people were killed by the Spaniards, and among these the king; on which his followers fled to the mountains.

THE Spaniards had remained for a considerable time at *Vera Cruz*, where they had many difficulties and hardships to encounter, and where they had a great deal of intercourse with the natives, sometimes friendly, but oftener far otherwise, when, dreading a failure of provisions, they resolved to quit the bay of *San Felippe y St. Jago*, and to make by the way of the Philippines for China. But the weather being extremely adverse, the vessels being in a bad condition, and a great part of the crew in an infirm and sickly state, it was unanimously resolved to proceed to New Spain, where, after making many escapes from most imminent danger, they arrived on the third of October 1606, nine months after their departure from *Callao**.

* *Monarquia Indiana, por F. Juan de Torquemada*, lib. v. cap. lxiv.—lxix.

QUIROS,

Quiros, after his return to New Spain, repaired once more to the Spanish Court to renew his application for the establishment of colonies in his *Tierra Austral del Espiritu Santo*. He was sent back to the viceroy of Peru, no doubt with some encouragement in his design, but died at Panama on his return to Lima, A. D. 1614.

The *Almiranta*, or second vessel of the squadron, commanded by *Louis Vaez de Torres*, after its leaving the *Tierra Austral*, was separated from the *Capitana* in a storm, and pursued her passage homeward by a different route. This separation may be considered as a fortunate circumstance; for *De Torres*, in the course into which he had been driven, touched at many islands abounding with gold, pearls, and spice. He had pursued the line of a coast for 800 leagues, and seized some of the inhabitants, whom he carried along with him to the Philippine Islands, where he gave an account of his discoveries *.

Memorial presented by Quiros, on his return from his voyage of discovery, to Philip III

Quiros, in one of those numerous memorials respecting his voyage, which he presented in the course of ten years to Philip III. represents his *Tierra del Espiritu Santo*, as the

* Figueroa. *Echos de Don Garcia Hurtado, quarto. Marques de Caneto*, lib. vi. p. 290.

most delicious country in the world, a perfect paradise, and to Spain an inexhaustible source of riches, power, and glory. After all, he says, "I have but feebly represented all the riches which await the Europeans who shall be willing to transport themselves to these delightful countries; but time will develope them, and make amends for my inability. And I doubt not but this city will become hereafter the centre of communication, and general mart for all the commerce of *Chili, Peru, Panama, Nicaragua, Guatimala, New Spain, Ternata, Philippinas,* and other countries beyond sea, which are under the dominion of your majesty."—The memorial concludes with a long and ardent supplication, recapitulating all the motives which could interest the ambition, vanity, and devotion of the monarch, and engage him to form a great establishment, in the countries that had been taken possession of in his majesty's name. The memorialist, in addressing so religious a prince, does not forget to give a detailed account of all the crosses that were set up on this occasion, the processions that were made, or the masses that were chanted, to consecrate this act of injustice and violence.

THE publication* of the memorial of De Quiros,

* This memorial of Quiros was published at Seville, A. D. 1610. English translations of it are to be found in PURCHAS

Quiros, in which he sometimes interweaves particulars respecting other countries, discovered in former voyages by Mendana and himself, must have afforded to the Spaniards such an entertainment, but more interesting on account of its greater novelty, as has been afforded to the world in our times by that of Cook's, and other voyages performed both before his and after it.

THE countries, or lands of any considerable extent, found in the course of the last century, and more especially in the latter part of it, in the South Pacific Ocean, are, in fact, no other than those discovered by the Spanish navigators of former times, with the single exception of NEW CALEDONIA, discovered by Captain Cook*.

Reflections on the voyages of discovery in the South Pacific Ocean.

THE bold efforts of the Spanish navigators immortalized their names; but were not improved either for the benefit of their own na-

PURCHAS HIS. PILGRIMS, vol. iv. p. 1422; and in DALRYMPLE'S HISTORICAL COLLECTION of VOYAGES, vol. i. p. 162.

* See Discoveries of the French in 1768 and 1769, &c. to which is prefixed an Historical Abridgment of the Voyages and Discoveries of the Spaniards in the same Seas, by Mr. M***. This Mr. M. is known to be Mr. Fleurieu, assisted, or rather employed, and directed in his inquiries by the late amiable and respectable Lewis XVI. king of France, who was a good scholar, and particularly an excellent geographer.

tion, or that of mankind in general. Their discoveries, hardly announced to the world beyond the precincts of Spain, would have remained in obscurity and darkness, had not modern navigators, with greater advantages of instrumentality and of science, discovered the same headlands, islands, and archipelagoes.

THE grand spring of the Spanish navigations in the South Pacific Ocean, was, the supposed existence of a great southern continent. The arguments urged by Quiros, in favour of this, appear so natural and convincing, that one is almost tempted to suppose the submersion of some ancient continent towards the Antarctic pole, in the ocean, like that of the real or supposed Island of *Atlantis*, rather than not to admit the justness of the reasoning of De Quiros. The persevering efforts of captain Cook, who penetrated through shoals of ice to the 67th, and even 71st degree of south latitude, have banished the notions that were so generally entertained of a southern continent. Did such a continent exist, it could not be of any considerable extent; and being situated so near the pole, surrounded, and for the most part bound up in perpetual ice, the knowledge of it would be as useless, as the discovery of it is impracticable.

It had been confidently urged by philosophers, though not by Quiros, (who in his reasoning is more solid, as adhering more closely to observation and experience,) that the existence of a southern continent is necessary, in order to preserve the *equilibrium* between the two hemispheres. But the equilibrium of the globe is found to be effectually preserved, though the proportion of the sea actually sailed through, leaves not a sufficient space for the corresponding mass of land that speculative reasoners had maintained to be necessary. Enlarged experience humbles the confidence of conjecture, and teaches us to pursue those paths of experimental philosophy, which alone lead with certainty to truth. It is often no small discovery, that the object of our pursuit is either wholly chimerical, or not within the pursuit of our power. The energy which is exhausted on vain projects, may be happily exercised on such as are both attainable and important.

Naval war between the Spaniards and Dutch in the East Indies.

At the same time that the Spaniards were employed in exploring new and distant countries, for the farther extension of their vast dominions, and maritime power, they were forced to maintain a contest with the young and rising republic of the Seven United Provinces, for retaining what they already possessed. The naval power of the United Provinces

vinces had shaken that of the Portuguese, that is, of the king of Portugal and Spain, on the coast of Mallacca, and prevailed over it in the Molluccas. These isles, being so rich in spice, and so advantageous for carrying on the trade by the *Philippines*, between the East Indies and America, every effort was made by the governor of the *Philippines*, to drive the Dutch out of them, not altogether without success. The Spaniards recovered from those people the island of Tidore. They also expelled them from the island of Ternate, and carried the king prisoner to Manilla. The island of Banda, too, apprized of these successes of the Spaniards, threw off the yoke of the republicans, which was not a light one. They also made prizes of immense value. Three Dutch Indiamen, sailing about the distance of half a league from one another, fell into their hands, computed to be worth a million of dollars. One of them, by accidental fire in the powder-room, was blown to pieces, and almost all on board perished.

Naval war between the Spaniards and the Dutch beyond the equinoctial line, notwithstanding the truce.

THE date of these transactions was 1608-10. But the truce of 1609 was considered by both parties as extending only to the northern hemisphere. The naval war was continued in the East Indies, notwithstanding the truce, and it seemed for some time doubtful, whether the flag of the Dutch or

or of the Spaniards was to gain the ascendency. In 1613 a great action took place in that quarter between the fleet of Spain, consisting of a great number of both ships of war and gallies, and that of the United States, the strongest they had hitherto sent beyond the equinoctial line. It was fought with great skill and obstinacy on both sides. But at last the Spaniards were completely defeated. Both the admiral and vice-admiral's ship were burnt, and the whole of the ships and gallies, that did not fall into the hands of the enemy, dispersed in a shattered and ruinous condition.

THE Dutch, elated with this victory, proceeded to the small isle of Ternate, the port of which they held in close blockade for the space of two years. The viceroy of the Philippines, Don Juan de Sylva, made several attempts to raise this siege. A squadron he had requested, for the purpose of relieving Ternate, from Portugal, consisting of four galleons with troops and stores, was intercepted by a strong naval force, under the command of Mynheer Verhagen, the Dutch governor-general in the Indies, who sunk one of the ships, and took another with all the men and stores on board. The two others ran on shore, where a great number of the soldiers were put to the sword,

and

and the ships burnt. Verhagen went back with his fleet to the Moluccas, where, in conjunction with the English and the king of Ternate, he drove the Spaniards and Portuguese, A.D. 1616, from that island.

The Dutch proceeded to make other conquests, among which was the small but important isle of *Siau*, which lies in the way between the Molucca and Philippine islands. In the year 1619, they took possession of a port and territory in the island of Java, to which they gave the name of Batavia. Here they fixed the great emporium of their commerce in the east, and Batavia soon became one of the most affluent, splendid, and powerful cities in Asia. The maritime power of the United Provinces, notwithstanding a signal victory obtained over them near the Philippine islands, A.D. 1617, by the Spaniards, under the command of Don Juan de Roquillo, ultimately predominated over that of Spain in the Indian ocean. The small island of *Tidore* was all, at last, that remained to the Portuguese and Spaniards in the Moluccas *. The Dutch, now sailing without controul or restraint in armed vessels, annoyed the trade

* Histoire de la Republique des Provinces Unies des Pais-bas depuis leur Etablissements, &c. Tome Troisieme.

of

of the Portuguese and Spaniards in Asia and Africa, and afterwards, in the reign of Philip IV., in South America. They assumed different characters, and put themselves into various shapes. They sometimes attacked Spanish fleets acting under the royal commission, in order to maintain the supremacy of their own naval power in those parts. At the same time, they carried on a clandestine or contraband trade with the inhabitants of the Spanish settlements, whom they sometimes compelled to trade with them on their own terms, and, at others, plundered them, and even kidnapped their children without ceremony.

In short, in relation to the Spanish colonies, they acted as soldiers, smugglers, or pirates, as opportunites offered. Nor was the mischief they did to be measured only by their actual assaults and piracies. The armaments of Holland kept the Spaniards in constant alarm*, and obliged them to maintain a greater naval force than would have been otherwise necessary, and a greater number of garrisons for their protection. The violence of the Hollanders, in the Indian ocean, was not confined to the Portuguese and Spaniards:

* Gonç de des espedes, lib. i. cap. 2.

they

they often treated the French and English that penetrated into what they began to consider as their seas, in the same manner as they did the two former nations.

War continued between the Spaniards and the Mountaineers of Chili.

As the Dutch continued to be the greatest torment of the Spaniards to the south of the equinoctial line at sea, so the *Araucani*, *Puelches*, and other tribes of the original inhabitants of Chili, were their greatest torment at land. A war was continued by this hardy, bold, high-spirited, and quick race, against their invaders, with various, but short intermissions of a deceitful peace. Nor can this war be said, even at this day, to have been brought to a conclusion. The Araucani, and other nations, either to the south of the river Biobio, or inhabiting the mountains and vallies forming the roots of the Cordilleras, are yet an unconquered people. That part of Chili, which may properly be accounted a Spanish province, is the territory extending along the western coast from the desert of Atazamas, which separates it on the north from Peru, to the Biobio and the islands of Chiloe: a region not less than nine hundred miles in length, and of unequal breadth, according to the incurvation, or projection, of that line of mountains that bounds it on the east. The soil of this tract, as well as of the vallies penetrating

penetrating at unequal lengths into the Cordilleras, is luxuriantly fertile, and the climate the most delicious in the new, if not in the whole world. It also contains mines of gold, silver, copper, and lead.

THE manners of the original inhabitants of Chili bear a greater resemblance to the savages of North America, than to those of their neighbours the Peruvians. They are fiercer, and more determined and daring in war than the North Americans; and in the faculties of the mind still more above them. They are a noble race of savages. And, if ever Chili should become the seat of equal law, liberty, arts, and sciences, the human species would be seen there in as fine and dignified a form as that which was exhibited, by a combination of physical and moral causes, in ancient Greece.

WHEN they go to war they carry nothing with them. The same trees from which they gather their food, supply them with bows, spears, and darts. These are their offensive weapons. For defence, they have only head-pieces, or helmets, made of the skins of seals. As they are sure of finding in one place what they had in another, they resign, without much reluctance, any country that they

they are unable to defend; but not without a firm resolution to seize the first favourable opportunity of returning, and attacking the invaders; whom they study to amuse by negociations and treaties of peace, in the breach of which they think that there is not any thing morally wrong, base, or shameful. In their various stratagems of war, there is more depth, a greater complication of ideas, and comprehension of views, than is common among savages, or even semi-barbarous nations. They march, like other savages, with astonishing celerity, and as much as possible in the night. The surprising resolution with which they meet death, seems to flow from the strength of their revenge, which fully compensates to them the loss of life: on which indeed they do not appear to set any great value. War is determined on in a junta of Caziques, with each a number of his principal followers and friends, at a feast, continued sometimes for several days and nights: in which feasts they make no great account of what or how much there is to eat, provided that they have abundance of intoxicating liquor to drink. When the fury of war is kindled in their breast by drinking, and the harangues, or *arguments**, of their chiefs, the

* The word used by all the Spanish historians is *raconamiento*.

general,

general, who is chosen by the other chiefs to command, like another Agamemnon, the confederate army, makes a speech to the whole, in which he recounts the motives that urge them to the field, the end in view, and the general plan of operations; reserving, however, in his own breast, any thing he may not think fit to communicate, until the proper moment for execution: and, in correspondence with this reserve, strongly inculcating as ready an obedience to the orders of the general, in the time of action, as an inflexible resolution in resisting, confounding, and destroying the enemy. After the conclusion of the general's speech, a live deer, on all occasions of great and peculiar importance, is sacrificed; the palpitating heart is taken out; and the general tears it in pieces with his teeth, and devours part of it, signifying, by this overt act, the rage with which he is animated, and the manner in which he intends to treat the common foe.

Singular ceremony of the Araucani on going to war.

THE attempt to conquer Chili, begun by Diego Almagro, but interrupted by a civil war with the Pizarros, which involved the death of the elder Pizzaro, was resumed by Pedro de Valdivia, who, after displaying the most conspicuous proofs of both military courage and skill, was cut off, together with the greatest part of his company, which consisted

Vicissitudes in the war between the Spaniards and the original inhabitants of Chili.

sisted of 200 horsemen. The Chilese, according to a general custom among all the Indians, made flutes and trumpets of the bones of his thighs and legs, and kept his head as a trophy of so remarkable a victory, for animating their descendants to deeds of heroic valour. On this disaster, his lieutenant Don Francisco de Villagran, marched against the Araucani with all the Spaniards that he could assemble in Chili, and ten pieces of ordnance, checked their furious career, and saved the remaining Spaniards from entire destruction. Intelligence of all these transactions having come to the ears of the marquis of *Cannete*, viceroy of Peru, he sent his son, *Don Garcia de Mendoza*, against the *Araucani*, with a strong force, infantry and cavalry, and also a formidable train of artillery. The *Araucani*, after a series of engagements, in which it is computed 40,000 of them were slain or led into captivity, were reduced to peace, and the shew of subjection to the dominion of Spain. The fort of Arauco, which they had destroyed, was rebuilt, and to the six Spanish towns that had been already built and inhabited in Chili, new ones were added. But scarcely had Don Garcia set out from St. Jago, on his return to Peru, when a junta was held of all the Caziques. The war was renewed, and carried on with great vigour and obstinacy on both sides. Many and grievous

grievous were the calamities which the Spaniards inflicted on the Araucani, and many in return those which the Araucani inflicted on the Spaniards. Some of the tribes, pressed by the sword, fire, and famine, submitted to the Spaniards; and three forts were erected, one between Valdivia and Osorno; one at Villarica; and another on the river *Cauten*, seven leagues from the city of *La Imperial;* for the protection of the friendly nations, as the Spaniards called those that owned their sway, against whom the tribes that disdained submission, and even the semblance of it, were animated with as much indignation and fury, as against the Spaniards.

Among the Caziques who persevered in hostile disdain and aversion to the dominion of the Spaniards, was Guypotaen, a chief held in the highest esteem and respect throughout the land of both Arauco and Tucapel. He had been forced to seek an asylum from the irresistible power of the Spaniards on the plains, in the mountains, where, together with some friendly companions of his flight, he had secured himself for some time; but, even in this retreat, he found means, by his authority and counsels, to prevent a general pacification, and to fan the flame of indignation and resentment against the Christians. Impatient at length of a con-

tinued seclusion from his wife and family, he descended into the low country, where he fell into the hands of the Spaniards. Though overpowered by numbers, and surrounded, he refused quarter, and chose to die in the act of giving as many and fatal wounds to his enemies as possible.

In the mean time, the Spaniards, that were obliged to shut themselves up in the fort of Puren, were reduced to the greatest extremity of want, and the number of enemies that formed a circle round it, prevented them from drawing any subsistence from the adjacent country. The men of Puren understanding, through their spies, the distressful state of the garrison, assembled in a grand and solemn junta, for the purpose of availing themselves of the occasion, and driving the Christians out of their country. The choice of a general was committed to fourteen electors. Many warriors, of approved bravery, aspired to the chief command, but the choice of the electors fell on Guanoalca, who having taken an oath of fidelity to his countrymen, and torn in pieces, and partly devoured, the palpitating heart of a live deer, vowed to do the same by the Christians, or to die in the attempt.

While the men of Puren were engaged in the

the ceremonies, and feasting at this election, intelligence was brought, by one of their spies, that the Spaniards were harder and harder pressed by the scarcity of provisions, and all other necessaries. The multitude were loud in their demands to be led against the fort that instant. But the general wisely restrained their impetuosity, observing, that it was better to defer the attack for some time, until they should see whether the Spaniards would not evacuate it of their own accord; which, accordingly, they did, having no hopes of timeous relief; and repaired to the city of Angol. The fort of Puren was immediately demolished by the Indians. The Spanish garrison of another fort, which was that of Mareguano, also abandoned it, and in their way, also to Angol, scouring the countries through which they passed, destroying the corn-fields, and, in a word, making all the havoc of war. The caziques of these countries sent messengers to Puren, soliciting assistance against the common enemy. The general, Guanoalca, was very willing to comply with their request, and recommended it to the favourable attention of the Junta assembled on the occasion. But he was opposed by *Cheuquetaro*, who observed that the present was not a time for weakening their force in the valley of Puren. The Spaniards had not abandoned their fort

without an intention of returning in greater force, for the purpose of rebuilding, and of holding it. And they would, beyond a doubt, make themselves again masters of the valley, if their designs were not frustrated by a vigorous resistance. The wisest thing, therefore, that the Puelches, and the other tribes who solicited assistance, could do, would be to feign a desire, and to offer peace to the Spaniards. In the mean time, they might collect provisions, and embrace the first favourable opportunity of revenging and repairing the injuries that had been done them. This counsel was universally approved and adopted. And deputies were sent to make peace with the Spaniards.

THE opportunity expected by Cheuquetaro was soon presented. The coast of *Chili* was visited, A. D. 1591, by the English navigator Cavendish, whose people sent on shore for wood and water, and what other necessaries they could lay their hands on, were driven back to their ships; a messenger was then dispatched to the Spanish government at St. Jago, to represent that France had joined in the league against Spain, and that in a short time the allies would be masters of all those seas, and sovereigns of America. It was requested, that, in consideration of this, the governor

governor of Chili would supply the English with provisions, of which they were in great want. The messenger did not return so soon as was expected, and Cavendish, pressed by necessity, sent on shore a good force of both sailors and musketeers, to take what they wanted by force. The Spaniards, rushing on the English from an ambuscade, drove them back to their ships, killing and wounding many of them, and taking fourteen prisoners. Of these, twelve were condemned to death, "to their own great gain (says Ovaglie),* for, having embraced, and died in the Catholic and true faith, they thus secured their own salvation." Cavendish, seeing how little was to be made of the Spaniards in those ports, set sail for the Californias, and from thence to the Philippine islands†.

THE Caziques, who had been reduced to the necessity of making a hollow peace, when they saw the Spaniards insulted by the English, united in a resolution to throw off the yoke, and prepared for the fiercest conflict, knowing well, that their treachery must provoke the

* A jesuit, born at St. Jago in Chili, and who, after many years residence in South America, became procurator for Chili at Roue.

† Historica Relatione del Regno de Chile, por Alonzo D'ovaglie, lib. iv. cap. 5.

highest possible degreee of resentment, and vindictive fury. In the mean time, Yanaqueo, the heroic wife of the brave Guy Potaen, represented to her brother Quechunturco, the miserable state of solitude in which she lived; that she could never banish from her mind the recollection of so irreparable a loss, nor the poignant regrets and sorrow with which this was accompanied; and that she lived now only for revenge. "Do not," said she, "my brother, imagine that these are only the vain wailings of a mournful widow. I will share in all your toils, be found at your side in every moment of danger, and present my bosom to receive the balls of the Christians, sooner than they shall be suffered to pierce yours. I do not wish you to give credit to my words, but to my deeds."—The generous Quechuntureo importuned his sister to keep aloof from the hardships and perils of war, and to leave revenge to him alone, in vain.—She roused her people to arms, and instructed and trained the youth in the use of them; and was seen in the midst of the captains and soldiers, with her bow and arrows in her hands, and her spear swung over her shoulders. Quechuntureo and Yanaqueo were joined in a short time by an army composed of the Puelches, and mountainous tribes, naked, painted, and making use of poisoned arrows, to

Warlike spirit and heroism of a Lady of Araeuo.

to the amount of 1,200 men. They directed their march against the fort, situated at the distance of seven leagues of Villarica. They fell in with two unfortunate Spaniards travelling from this place to Osorno, cut off their heads, and presented them to Yanaqueo, as an earnest of their zeal to gratify, in future, her revenge more completely. But Quechuntureo, on being informed that a strong reinforcement had arrived to the Spaniards in Chili from Peru, retired to the mountains, where he secured himself by a fortress constructed of great trees, on the summit of a steep hill.

The Spanish commander, strengthened by the reinforcement from Peru, set out in pursuit of Quechuntureo, laying waste the country as he went with fire and sword, and inflicting dreadful cruelties on individuals, for a terror to others, cutting off the hands of some, and hanging up others by the neck on trees. Among the number of persons doomed to this last fate, was one who, with an undaunted countenance and mien, desired that he might be hung up on the top of the highest tree to be found, that all who past by might be told that he had died in the cause of his country, and for the common liberty of all his compatriots; which he accounted supreme felicity, since there was nothing either so intolerable

or

or disgraceful as to live in servitude, and under obedience to the nod of others. Being exhorted to leave off this vaunting, and to undergo the sacred rite of baptism, by which means a way would be opened for him to enter into heavenly bliss and glory, he haughtily desired, "that they would not give themselves any needless trouble about him. He made no pretensions to any greater glory, than that the world should know the honourable cause of his death. It was not his wish to put off the moment of dying, which had been too much protracted by their vain talking already. Finish what you are about, said he, at once:"* which they did. After various movements and incidents, Quechuntureo was assaulted in his fort, and taken. He implored mercy, with the strongest assurances, that, in return, he would induce all the people over whom he had any authority or influence, to come down from the mountains and inhabit the plains in a state of submission to the Spaniards. His life was spared, and he performed his promise. Every day families were seen taking up their abodes, and beginning to cul-

* If this had been related by an historian, professing to describe and record the virtues of those people, this high strain of heroism might not, to every one, appear credible. But Father Ovaglie speaks with great regret of the "stubborn pride and blindness of this ARROGANTE, who totally shut his eyes against the admission of heavenly light."

tivate

tivate the low country. The cities of Osorno, Valdivia, and Villarica, after the miseries of a war which had continued for ten years, began to breathe and enjoy the comforts of peace.

THE Spaniards, conducted still by the brave governor of Chili, Sotomajor, proceeded to the valley of *Millapoa*, to lay it waste, and, at last, to reduce the stubborn Araucani to submission. Those intrepid warriors issued forth from their strong holds, in which they had secured themselves, to meet the Spaniards. When the hostile forces began to approach each other, there appeared in the front of the Spanish army, a person of gigantic stature, and a noble mien, brandishing in his hand a pike 6 or 7 feet long, and earnestly requesting permission to speak with the governor; which being granted, he said, "Sennor, I am *Reureante*, one of the chiefs of Arauco, who have joined in a confederation for the preservation of their lands, their country, and dear liberty. But as my ancestors have received many marks of kindness at the hands of the Christians, I have come, though much against the will of my people, to advise you to return from hence, and proceed no farther, as it is impossible that you can, this time, prevail against the mighty force of the combined army, which is two thousand strong; and if the men of Tucapel join us, it will be altogether irresistible; for the

the whole have sworn a thousand times to sacrifice their lives rather than to submit their necks to the yoke of servitude, and they are confident, that, in this part of the coast, to which they have given the name of *Villagra*, they will obtain as signal a victory as was gained by the Araucani over the great Spanish commander of that name, and his followers." *Rureante*, when he found that his counsel was rejected, immediately returned to the camp of the confederates, who, at this crisis, were greatly alarmed at the appearance of a comet, but who, nevertheless, continued unshaken in their resolution to give battle to the Christians. A battle accordingly ensued, one of the most bloody that had ever been fought between the Indians and Spaniards.

Military maxim of the Araucani.

Though the Araucani used bows and arrows, and also javelins, they held it as a maxim, never to commit the fate of the day to missile weapons, when they could close with their enemy. The shot of both ordinance and musketry, being altogether irresistible, they found that in fighting at a distance the advantage lay wholly on the side of the Spaniards. They therefore came to close quarters. "The balls," said they, "if you come near enough to them, are harmless." In the same manner, the same bold and unexpected assaults sometimes confound and discomfit, in our own times,

times, and in European countries, the finest systems of military tactics, framed on theories concerning projectiles. The Chilian breed of horses, excel both in beauty and spirit the famous Andalusian race from which they sprung, and the natives of Chili are such excellent horsemen, that the Spanish historians consider one of these with his lance, on horseback, as a match for any cavalier of Spain.

THE general that was chosen by the other chiefs for the approaching encounter was, the cazique *Quinteaguen*, who, after the usual ceremony above noticed, made a speech to the chiefs, and all within hearing, to the following purpose: "If there be in this army any one who has any information or counsel to give me, now is his time,—let him step forth. For no man, however respectable for age and experience, in the time of action, must speak one word. If any one do, I will not listen to him. It is not possible for one body to be well governed by many heads. As you have chosen me for your commander for this bout with the Christians, I expect that you will all be obedient to my orders, and that every man in his particular station and post, will do his duty." Having said this, he formed his soldiers in order of battle with the greatest coolness and resolution, although he was not joined by the men of Tucapel, as he had

had expected. Such was the army, and such the leader that the Spaniards had to encounter, on the present critical occasion. A battle ensued, in which the fierce courage, and the address in the use of weapons, on the part of the Araucani, with their allies the *Purenes* and the Mareguani, was overcome by the more patient and persevering, though not more ardent courage of the Spaniards, and the superiority of their arms, and their skill in the art of war. General Quinteaguen fighting to the last, while his blood flowed from many wound, and animating his men, as long as he had breath, expired in this glorious attitude, and all his army was destroyed, or put to flight.

THREE times had the Spanish governors of Chili erected a fort in the valley of Arauco, and as often been forced to abandon it to destruction. But after a victory, to appearance so decisive, it did not seem unreasonable to suppose, that the neck of *rebellion*, as it was called, was at last broken, and that with a new fort in this valley, as a point of support, the whole of the refractory Caziques might be reduced to obedience. A fortress was again raised in the plains of Arauco, not in the old place, but in a situation chosen for strength, convenience, and security, on a point of land jutting into the sea, in the territory of the

the Cazique *Colocolo*, who immediately, and before the work was completed, assembles a Junta of Caziques, represents the danger threatened to the common cause of independence, recalls to their mind the virtue of their ancestors, and expects them to unite in a firm resolution to oppose and confound the schemes of the Christians, by the valour of their arms. The Cazique Longo-navel, taking Colocolo by the hand, extolled his courage to the skies, but did not approve the course of conduct he advised, at the present moment. "It is easier," said he, "to take a fort than to keep it, and to raise it, than to preserve it. Success in war depends more on prudence and address than on force and presumption. Let the strangers go on with their building. Let us lull them into a security by an offer of peace, and, in the meantime, watch opportunities of surprising them. But if this counsel shall be thought to proceed from cowardice, I shall be found among the foremost to face the enemy."

Debates in a council of war held by the Caziques of Araeuo.

THE Cazique *Chibilingo* was wholly averse to the proposition of *Longo-navel*, and declared his sentiments to be the same with those of *Colocolo*. He was for contending with the strangers, without allowing them any repose, by the sharpness of his weapons, and the strength of his arms.

LONGO-

LONGO-NAVEL was supported by other three Caziques, *Levopia*, *Curaquilla*, and *Quiapo*, who all of them advised to amuse the Spaniards with terms of peace.

THE debate waxed very hot, and but for the interposition of the aged *Colican*, whose grey hairs, experience, and wisdom, were held in universal respect and veneration, might have been carried to the utmost violence. He did not recommend an absolute negociation for a general peace, nor yet to rush precipitately into a general war; but a measure which held a middle place beween war and peace. If they should all of them unite in war, they would be set at defiance, kept at a distance, and not have the means of becoming acquainted with the situation, movements, and designs of the enemy. If, on the contrary, they should all of them make peace, new juntas, and a concert for carrying on the war, might give them the alarm, and there would not be a force in readiness to seize the decisive moment of striking a blow of importance. He, therefore, advised, that they should all of them make peace except *Chibilingo*, who should secure himself, and collect from all hands as great a force as possible in the mountains, and hold himself in readiness for action on any favourable opportunity. Meanwhile the other Caziques would

would remain in the vallies, and under the guise of peace and amity, act as spies, and let Chibilingo know every thing that passed. The whole of the chiefs came immediately into the sentiments of the aged *Colican*. And a resolution was taken to send a deputy to the Spanish camp with terms of peace. The choice they made of a deputy is very curious. It is not a little laughable. But it seems to prove, that even amidst their plans of deceit and perfidy, they paid a degree of homage to moral obligation, and were willing to have a salvo for their own honour. They all agreed that the messenger proper to be sent to the Spaniards, on the present occasion of false-dealing, was Curaquilla, who, being hump-backed, and otherwise deformed, had "falsity and deceit inscribed on his very person." *Curaquilla*, accordingly, made his appearance, and delivered his message to Don Alonzo Sotomajor, the Spanish governor. Don Alonzo, taught by experience to suspect every new and extraordinary circumstance in the procedure of those people, observed to Curaquilla, that, in all former pacifications, the Caziques had treated with the governors of Chili in person, and he insisted on their personal appearance on the present occasion. This being reported, the Caziques made no hesita-

Singular recommendations of a person to be employed as an ambassador.

tation in coming down, and swearing peace with the Spaniards.

War carried into Tucapel.

ALL was now quiet as far as the river Levo, the boundary between Arauco and Tucapel. But the chiefs of *Tucapel*, *Puren*, and *Mareguano*, though they knew that the Spaniards were to direct their force against them only, continued in a hostile attitude, determined to resist and repel all aggression.

SOTOMAJOR, "animated with the most ardent desire of multiplying the crowns of the Spanish king," says Ovaglie, "and extending the glory of the Catholic faith," entered Tucapel, at the head of 1,200 Spaniards, horse and foot, and a great number of the *Araucani* who had laid down their arms. *Pailaeco*, the lord of Tucapel, sent messengers to the chiefs of *Ongolmo*, *Elicura*, *Palmayquen*, *Puren*, and *Mareguano*, to meet him at a place called *Pailataro*. Though he was not joined at the place appointed by all the force he expected, he nevertheless took the field with the greatest composure and alacrity, without exhibiting to his people any symptom of having met with the least disappointment: and having placed the body of his troops in ambush on a mountain, separated himself from them with only an hundred

Indian stratagem of war.

dred picked men, and waited near the root of the mountain, the approach of the Spaniards, apparently in an unguarded state, and as if the thoughts of war were not in their heads. When the Spaniards drew near, an alarm was sounded as if they had not been expected. Pailaeco formed his hundred men in a compact squadron, and knowing that he was supported in his rear, made some resistance to such of the Spaniards as were foremost in their march, and then fell back towards his main body that lay hid in the mountain.

THE Spaniards seeing such a handful of men, and not aware of the ambuscade, advanced to the Indians, rather as a number of men that had fallen into their hands, as prisoners, than as to an enemy prepared to maintain any conflict. The faster the Indians began to retreat, the faster the Spaniards pursued to cut them off or take them, before they should be secured in their fastnesses in the mountain. Two Indians, in the mean time, had set out at full speed from *Pailaeco's* squadron, as if they had made their escape from their own party, but, in reality, in order to acquaint the men that lay in ambush, that now was their time to rush out and fall on the Spaniards. The *Tucapeles*, in an instant, attacked the Spaniards, disordered by an unsuspicious pursuit of a flying enemy, and beginning to be drawn into entangle-

ments. Don Alonzo, recollecting how vain it would be to oppose, with all the force he had with him, so mighty a torrent, with great presence of mind, determined to retreat, and to draw the enemy into the plains, by a stratagem similar to that by which they had attempted to decoy him into the defiles, glens, and revines of the mountains. The Spaniards fell back. The *Tucapeles* followed close at their heels. The Spaniards ran, and the enemy pursued. But when the Tucapeles had advanced a good way into the plain, the Spaniards halting at once, and forming themselves into good order, attacked the surprised and disorderly pursuers with the utmost resolution, and with complete success. *Pailaeco*, fighting desperately, fell, together with nine of his bravest captains. His people fled to a marsh. Night put a stop to the pursuit. The Spanish army laid waste the plains of Tucapel, destroying both huts and corn-fields, putting many of the inhabitants to the sword, or hanging them up by the neck on trees, cutting off the hands of others, and sending them in that miserable flight to wander over the country as a terror to their neighbours. The lives of some that fell into their hands were spared; but, when it was thought necessary or convenient to employ them as slaves, they were kept, with hard and scanty fare, under heavy chains, in places of confinement.

The effect of this stratagem counteracted by a similar stratagem on the part of the Spaniards.

Great cruelties practised by the Spaniards.

NEVER

NEVER certainly were greater cruelties inflicted by the most barbarous conquerors on subdued nations, than those that the Indians were made to suffer at the hands of the Spaniards. They were, indeed, such as to give some degree of countenance to the notion, which some have entertained, that they proceeded in their conquests with a fixed plan, however much against any rational prospect of utility to themselves, or the Spanish government, of thinning the population, if not of absolutely destroying or exterminating the ancient inhabitants, whom they hardly seemed to consider as belonging to the human species. The Spaniards are by nature a noble and generous race. But a spirit of avarice, excited by extraordinary circumstances, had become the predominant passion. With this every one sympathised. It was the tone, the fashion of the times. Animal ferocity was excited by resistance. A contempt and abhorrence of infidels was nourished by erroneous ideas of the genius of the Christian religion. And what was criminal, and most atrocious in moral conduct, was shaded by colourings of bigotry and superstition.

Confederations among the Indians of war for the reco-

ALL the dreadful examples that were made by the Spaniards, did not deter the Araucani from the formation of a conspiracy to throw

very and defence of their liberty.

off their detested yoke. They fled again from the vallies to the mountains. They were pursued and harrassed in their flight. Many of them were killed, and many of their principal people taken alive, and kept in strict and harsh confinement. Among these was a youth of a gallant and noble carriage, who, on being interrogated, could not conceal that he was the eldest son of *Colocolo*, lord of the valley of *Arauco*, and heir of his estate. This young man, finding both himself and his wife captives, made an offer to the Spaniards of entering, with all his kindred and people, into a sincere peace and friendship with them, never again to be broken. And for this end, being permitted, he dispatched a messenger to his vassals, requesting them to come into his views, and lay down their arms; adding, that if they did not, he would become, in the hands of the Christians, instead of their lord and protector, their scourge and executioner. The messenger went; but, after all his efforts, was unable to accomplish the object of his mission. *Millayene*, the wife of young Colocolo, whom she tenderly loved, and who was confined in the same prison with him, though in a different part of it, having obtained permission, went to visit her husband. Wrung with grief at seeing him loaded with chains, and foreboding the worst from the long stay of the messenger,

ger, she requested his leave to go, with the permission of the Spaniards, which she doubted not would be granted, in person, to soothe, soften, and bring over, by every blandishment, the hard-hearted people. "And," said she, "if I cannot prevail with them, I will be the first to turn against them, if they make greater account of their own independence, than of the personal liberty of their lord. I will range myself on the side of the Christians, and serve as a guide to their army, for chastising the disloyalty and disobedience of our stubborn vassals."

SCARCELY had Millayene finished what she had to say, when the messenger returned with the heavy tidings, that all her melancholy anticipations had been verified. The reply of the fierce and warlike people was to this effect: "There is no remedy. We will sooner lay down our lives than lose our liberty: since it has been the cruel fate of our lord to fall into a prison, it becomes his character and high rank, and the race from whence he is sprung, to summon up a courageous heart, and to bear it with fortitude. What we have to do, as loyal vassals, and what we will do, is, to spare no toil, to shun no danger, but to lay down our lives, if necessary, for revenging the injuries that have been done him." Colocolo, under the

impressions of grief, resentment, and the entreaties of his wife, came over to the side, and became a partizan of the Spaniards.

Don Alonzo, pursuing his arduous career of conquest over an intrepid and most resolute people*, destroyed, or drove them to the mountains, proceeded to *Tucapel*, for the reduction of this country also, under the dominion of his Catholic Majesty, and all that remained unconquered in the kingdom of Chili. But slaughter and famine were followed by pestilence, which, raging throughout the whole land, occupied the minds of both the invaders and invaded with other cares than how to afflict and destroy each other.

The eminent services of Don Alonzo Sotomajor, being rewarded with the approbation of his sovereign, and an appointment to offices of great power and trust in Old Spain,

* The Spanish is more picturesque and energetic than any modern language. The vigorous efforts of Don Alonzo are described in these words: "Que tan superior se mostro a todos ellos pomiendoles el yugo al Cuello, y teniendolos arraya, por mas que bramavan y Crujan los dientes, de baxo de la Fuerça y poder de su invicto Braço;" *Ovaglie*, p. 243. Putting the yoke on their neck, and holding them fast, the more they roared and gnashed their teeth, under the mighty force of his invincible arm.

he

he was succeeded in the government of Chili by *Don Martin Garcia, onnez y Loyola*, who came with a strong reinforcement from Peru, in the spirit of peace and conciliation; but prepared and determined, if this spirit should not meet with a suitable turn, to let loose all the rage and the horror of war. He was the head of the house of Loyola, which was also that of the illustrious *Ignatius*, founder of the order of Jesuits. His countenance was sweetly intelligent. There was, in his personal appearance and deportment, a dignity tempered with a most engaging affability, grace, and suavity of manners. His aim was to gain, not to intimidate, the hearts of men: and he was not a little aided in the prosecution of this design, by the circumstance, that he was married to *Donna Beatrix Coya*, a daughter of the last *Ynca* of Peru. Intelligence being every where spread, by the new governor, of the spirit and interest with which he had come to take upon him the government of Chili, many of the Caziques came to him, offering peace and friendship. To those who still held out, and kept aloof, he sent messengers, with an offer of peace and amity, and of safe conduct, if they would come down from their mountains, for the purpose of having a friendly conference. The messengers had it also in charge, to explain more particularly

A new governor of Chili adopts new measures of conciliation.

Effects of these.

particularly to the Caziques the views and designs of the governor. The tribute to be required was to be very moderate; and such arrangements to be made as might be advantageous to both parties*. Every grievance was to be redressed. They were to be secured in the enjoyment of their lives and properties. They were to be placed in a situation in which they might cultivate their lands in peace and safety; and enjoy the fruits of their labour, as well as the spontaneous gifts of the soil without molestation. The governor, by orders of his king, had come among them in the character of a father, concerned for their welfare, under whose protection, as friendly and faithful vassals, there would be no one to injure or offend them. Allured by these declarations, a number of Caziques came down to the plains, with every sign of a disposition to peace.

A Junta of Caziques.

THE governor having convened a Junta of all the Caziques that had expressed an inclination to peace and amity with the Spaniards, and having entertained them in the noblest, that is, in the most plentiful manner, he con-

* The term always used by D'Ovaglie, in speaking of the Indian and Spanish states is, *Respublicas.*

firmed,

firmed, and expatiated at greater length on what had been represented to them by his messengers in the most affectionate and respectful style. And having done this, he observed, "That it would be mere affectation in him to pretend ignorance that treaties of peace formerly agreed to had been violated. If the Caziques were not perfectly sincere in their profession of peace this time, no good purpose could be served by any agreement. It would be better to open their mind, and declare their intentions at once, and not to lose time in negotiating a peace not to be permanent. If a pacification should be made, and yet broken through, the severities to be expected at the hands of the Spaniards must of course be the greater. The only course that would remain for him in such a case to pursue, would be, like his predecessors, to declare war against them, for which, by the reinforcement he had brought from Peru, he was well prepared, and to push it with the utmost possible vigour."

Addressed by the Spanish governor.

THE Caziques listened to the general's address, according to the manner of the Indians, with the most profound silence and attention. And when he had finished, they unanimously signified their approbation by gestures, looks, and acclamation. *Alvepillan*, the chief of Quilacura, in proof of the sincerity

Many Caziques agree to make peace on the terms proposed by the Spaniards.

cerity with which he desired to be at peace with the Spaniards, counselled the governor to build a city (in building which the Caziques present would all assist him) in the plain of *Mareguano;* the possession of which would enable him to subdue the whole country, and from thence to make inroads into Puren: so that those who were not inclined to make peace, might be compelled to make it by force. Other chiefs invited him to erect forts in their lands; others offered their gold mines, and their people to assist in working them. In short, there was a general disposition, and a kind of passion, for peace. The mines were wrought; the land was laboured; the natives lived in quiet; and many of the Spaniards grew rich. New forts were erected on the river *Biobio.* Convents were established; and a new city was built, to which, in honour of the governor, was given the name of *La Cividad de Santa Cruz de Loyola.*

Not so Paila Macho, principal Cazique of Puren.

In the midst of this general peace and prosperity, *Pailamacho,* the principal Cazique of *Puren,* secure within the natural fortress of mountains and morasses, persevered in his hatred and rage against the Spaniards, and all men to whom their dominion did not appear insufferable, and their very name detestable. With the connivance of the

the chief, he marched, in the dead of the night, through the territory of *Quilicura*, at the head of an army, formed into three divisions, towards the river *Biobio*, and set fire to one of the Spanish forts there above-mentioned, by which it was partly consumed. A desperate effort to enter the fort in another quarter, was repelled by the superior valour of the garrison, though it consisted of only twenty men. *Longoteague*, [i. e. dog-headed] a distinguished warrior, who led on the attack, was slain, and all the rest of the Indians fled.

The governor, to confirm the peaceable in their obedience, and to strike terror into those who still remained in hostility, followed up this victory, by an excursion from St. Jago, at the head of an hundred chosen soldiers, shewing all manner of kindness to the former, and inflicting every evil on the latter. The Indians of Tucapel, seeing the *Araucani* in the peaceable enjoyment of the produce of both the land and of the rivers, and the sea, sent messengers to the governor, with an invitation to build a town in their country, as he had done in those of their neighbours; which he readily accepted, though he deferred the execution of it till a reinforcement he expected should arrive from Peru.

The

THE advantages enjoyed by the tribes who had made peace with the Spaniards, instead of inducing the men of Puren to follow their example, inspired them with indignation and rage against those who had betrayed the common cause, by bending their necks under the yoke of the Christians. The resolute and inflexible, though old, Pailamacho fanned this flame, and united not only the warriors of Puren, but all that he could draw to his standard from the neighbouring states or principalities, in a firm purpose never to submit to the dominion of the Spaniards, but to annoy both them and their Indian allies, by all means that could be devised of stratagem or of force. He collected arms, and all things necessary for marching against the Spaniards in their strong holds in the plains. And in the mean time, while preparations were on foot for a grand attack, small parties were sent out in all directions to surprise the peaceful inhabitants of the vallies; to waylay them, as they passed from one place and another, to destroy their houses and fields; and by all means to make them sensible that the protection of Spain was dearly purchased by incurring the resentment and the revenge of *Puren.*

LOYOLA, whose hands were strengthened by

by troops and stores sent by Velasco, a new viceroy of Peru, A. D. 1508, drew together all the Spaniards in Chili, with the intent of uniting with these a great number of friendly Indians, and, with this great force, of crushing the obstinacy of Puren at once, and securing the peace and safety of the Spanish settlements in its neighbourhood in future, by destroying, enslaving, or exterminating its inhabitants. He laid waste the plains with fire and sword; and built and garrisoned two new forts, from whence, after the winter, that now approached, should be past, he might carry the war into the defiles and mountains of Puren.

But *Pailamacho*, who was informed of every thing by his spies, determined to be beforehand with the Spanish commander. He assembled all his men capable of bearing arms, together with a number of allies that had joined him, in a great morass, which was his castle. He roused the fury of war by a harangue, made opportunely towards the conclusion of a feast, and easily obtained their unanimous approbation of an immediate attack on the fort that had been erected by Loyola in the great valley of *Puren*. A number of the best soldiers was picked from the multitude, and formed into three battalions,

lions, or divisions; one under the immediate orders of Pailamacho himself, another under those of a chief named MILLACALQUIN, and the third led on by the redoubted PELANTARO, the great shield of Puren, and scourge of the Christians. These were the three squadrons, and the three leaders, that gave a check to the progress of Spanish domination in Chili, and a wound to the Spanish authority and name in this part of the world that was never fully recovered; fixed the independence of so great a portion of the original inhabitants; and has left to every people dwelling on the face of the earth, and particularly to the Spanish nation itself, a memorable proof and example that the spirit of liberty, in the possession of a wide and strong country, is INVINCIBLE.

Dreadful check to the domination of the Spaniards in Chili.

THE usual method of reducing forts, practiced by the Indians, was adopted by the chiefs for reducing that of Puren. It was surrounded by a line of soldiers, that reduced the garrison, both men and horses, to the most direful want of all the necessaries of life. The encounters in which the parties that were sent out, from time to time, in quest of wood and water, and grass for the horses, were necessarily engaged with the Indians, tended to thin their numbers; so that,

that, in no great length of time they must have all perished either by sword or by famine. Don Alonzo, aware of this, sent a strong detachment to raise the blockade. *Pailamacho* sent orders to *Pelantaro* and *Millacalquin*, whose troops formed the blockade, to retire, as his only object for the present was, to distress and do as much mischief as possible to the Spaniards, without risking greatly any loss of their own people.

The governor, after remaining only six or seven days in the fort, considering how difficult it would be to keep it, dismantled, and went with his troops to the city of *Angol;* from whence he made a progress to other cities, for the purpose of rectifying abuses and quieting dissentions, and to visit the forts on the frontiers of the Spanish settlements. He was escorted, till he was fairly without the precincts of the territory infested by refractory chiefs, by 200 horsemen. Sending back the greater part of these to their garrisons, he kept a guard of only thirty men; and, pitching tents in a beautiful valley, resolved to pass the night in quiet security, and in the enjoyment of necessary refreshment. But *Pailamacho*, and the other chiefs of Puren, watched the movements of the Spaniards with the utmost vigilance, and never lost sight of them by day

or night. They had dispersed in different places, and a communication was kept up among them, in the dead of the night, by an imitation of the cries of nocturnal birds, of which countersigns, varied and intermixed as occasion required, the meaning was fixed with great precision. Two hundred of these mountaineers, having learnt that the governor, with his people, after taking a repast, had gone to rest, stole softly to the tents, one by one, that no noise might be heard, some time before break of day, and knocked out the brains of all the party, among whom were three priests, with massy clubs. The triumvirate of *Puren*, elated with success, sent *their arrow** throughout the land, far and near, and roused the tribes that had yielded submission to the Christians to a general revolt and insurrection. This important event took place A. D. 1599, the second of the reign of Philip III.

Don Alonzo de Loyola, with a party of Spaniards, surprised, and cut off to a man.

The fury of a wild and savage war raged without abatement for three years. Of thirteen towns that had been built and peopled by the Spaniards in Chili, seven were destroyed, namely, *Valdivia*, *La Imperial*, *Angol*, *Santa Cruz*, *Chillan*, *La Conception*, and

Destruction of seven out of thirteen Spanish towns in Chili.

* The messengers sent to assemble the chiefs, carried an arrow with them, as an emblem of the business on which they had come.

Los

Los Infantes. There was nothing so sacred as to excite veneration, or so helpless, innocent, and lovely as to move compassion, in the midst of a general torrent of savage ferocity, and revenge heightened by the recollection of former servitude, and other sufferings. Young women, indeed, that happened to please the savages, and among those a number of nuns, were dragged into captivity, and became at once the wives, and hard-working slaves of their Indian lords. The lives of young men and boys too were sometimes spared, that they might be slaves to the Indians. The Spanish prisoners were stripped of their clothes, which the Indians put on in triumph. The whole face of the world was changed. The Indians, apparelled as Spaniards, were the masters; the Spaniards, in the garb of Indians, were the slaves. The usual valour of the Spaniards was not wanting on an occasion that would have awakened courage in the breasts of less generous and intrepid nations. But valour availed but little in opposition to numbers so much superior, and still increasing; for in such circumstances, even cowards become valiant. The entrances into the towns were resolutely and long defended; but provisions failed; and though the rage of hunger prevailed over the strongest antipathies, and

sometimes too, as in Samaria of old, even over feelings, dearest of all to the human heart, but still of a less irresistible nature. Multitudes died of famine. If the men, moved to the height of despair and frenzy, by the direful wants of their wives and children, sallied forth from the cities and strong holds in quest of some vegetable roots and seeds, in the woods and fields, it was a miracle if they ever returned.

Horrors of war.

THE demon of war was also let loose over all the districts of the country; and in his train, slavery, mutilation, and death. Such of the Spanish noblemen and gentlemen, as were not massacred, endeavoured to make their escape, by boats on the rivers, or to save themselves by fleeing to the Spanish forts.

Sufferings of the Spaniards of both sexes, dragged into captivity by the Indians of war.

THE miseries suffered by the female captives, among whom were ladies of rank, were great beyond what human nature might be thought capable of bearing, were it not known by experience, that there is no condition to which our nature will not gradually bend, and, in some measure, accommodate itself. The Spanish ladies were not stripped of their clothes, like the men; but they were soon worn out, and then they were obliged to wear the same kind of covering

that

that was in use among the Indians. They were obliged to walk over all manner of ground, to fetch wood, or water, or other things, with their bare feet, and having, for clothes, only a small piece of cloth wrapped round their waist, and the skin of some beast thrown over their shoulders. Their food was herbs and roots, with a little boiled maize. This was the diet of ladies, accustomed to delicate fare and splendid entertainments, which was placed, not on tables, but on the bare ground, and which, thinking on former times, they mingled with their tears. It sometimes happened that whole families were led captive to the lands of the Indians. In these cases, the miseries of the parents themselves many times gave them less pain than those of their children; their children cruelly beaten, and sometimes mutilated in their presence, by their brutal master, while they ran for protection, in vain, to their screaming mothers. This was the sorrow of sorrows; in comparison with which every other affliction appeared light, and next to nothing. It is to be observed, that these poor, wretched captives were not under the protection of any thing like law or government. They were wholly at the mercy of the individual who happened to take them. There was no division of spoil. Even the Cazique claimed no share whatever in the spoil taken by any in-

dividual under his command; who kept whatever he took to himself, and exercised over his captives an absolute power, a tyranny altogether uncontrolled.

Not a few of the Spaniards of both sexes, taken captive at this period, from 1559 to 1603, were alive at the time when a peace, of very short continuance, was made with the *Indians of war*, as they were called, by the marquis of *Baydes*, governor of Chili, A. D. 1640. On that occasion some of the Spaniards were released from their captivity; among whom was an old lady, whom *Ovaglie* saw, and who looked as fresh and healthy, as if she had come, not out of a state of captivity, but from a state of ease and affluence. Such is the wonderful versatility of human nature! But on the other hand, there were many that bore marks of the severest bondage. A lady, for example, had wholly lost the use of one hand, by too heavy a task in grinding maize.

THE Spanish gentlemen and soldiers, during the captivity of their countrymen and countrywomen, did not contemplate it without the most generous efforts for their relief; sometimes by the boldest incursions, and at others, by offering ransoms, or captive Indians, in return; and their efforts were, in many

many instances, successful. But so great was the shame and confusion of some of the Spanish ladies, that they would not appear before their countrymen in the garb of Indians, and in the character of slaves, or wives, or mothers of Indians, but hid themselves, and would not be seen;—or, perhaps (Ovaglie observes), the mothers had by this time conceived so great an affection for their children, that they were unwilling to part with them.

THE people who escaped the general ruin and destruction of the seven cities, as there was neither room nor subsistence for them in these, occupied vallies and glens of the countries at peace, applied themselves to their culture, and gave rise to a flourishing population.

THE destruction of the cities did not appal the Spanish army, dispersed in other cities and garrisons, but rouzed them to new enterprizes. The war was continued with various success. But this vicissitude of success and disaster, this prolongation of the contest, was the utmost that wise men among the Spaniards now expected. The Jesuit, father *Luis de Valdivia*, was dispatched by the *Marquis of Montes Claros*, the viceroy of Peru, to Old Spain, in order to give a faithful account of the affairs of Chili to the king and the coun-

cil of the Indies. The Spanish government at this time, wearied, and harrassed by the war with the revolted Dutch, had, as above related, agreed to a long truce. Their dispositions and councils were wholly pacific; and the influence and effects of this temper were felt in Chili as well as the Netherlands of the Rhine.

New measures adopted by Philip III. for gaining an influence among the Indians of war.

It was resolved, that the war with the Indians in that kingdom should no longer, on the part of Spain, be offensive, but purely defensive; that a line of demarkation should be drawn, beyond which the Spaniards should not pretend to any right in matters of government. Thus the tumults and agitations of war being at an end, the minds of the Indians would be in a state to listen to the instructions of the ministers of religion; and thus, what was so dear to every heart, the redemption of so many Spaniards from a state of slavery, would be the more certainly and speedily accomplished. The king himself had several conferences with father *Valdivia*, for whom he conceived the greatest esteem. He proposed to make him a bishop, in order that this dignity might give the more authority to his person. The father judging this to be inconsistent with his vow of humility and poverty, declined it, with every due testimony of gratitude and respect for his majesty. But, in compliance with his majesty's desire, he accepted the appointment of visitor general,

ral, and the power of nominating, himself, the governor of Chili; who, being chosen by the father, and depending upon him, would the more cordially and zealously concur in his measures. The choice of *Valdivia* fell on *Don Alonso de Rivera*, who had been governor of Chili before, and was now employed in the province of *Tucuman*.

After a tedious voyage father Valdivia arrived in the port of *La Conception*, and immediately set about the objects of his mission, for the attainment of which he was furnished with the royal *schedules*, as they were called, or edicts. For opening a negociation of peace with the *Indians of war*, he availed himself of some Indian prisoners at Lima. These were dispatched as messengers of peace to all the refractory chiefs, and first of all to those of *Arauco*, *Tucapel*, and *Catiray*, which were nearest. The terms offered to the Caziques were, indemnity and oblivion of all that had passed; that they should have the full enjoyment of their lands and labours; and that neither they, nor their children should be obliged to become servants to the Spaniards. The terms were so satisfactory, that the Caziques could scarcely believe that the messengers spoke truth. These were sent back to father Valdivia, with the strongest assurances

Negociation with the Indians of war for peace and the propagation of Christianity.

assurances that nothing was so near their hearts as peace; in testimony of which they sent five Indians to accompany the messengers, to speak to the father, and to know for certain if what they had reported was truth.

The Indians that accompanied the messengers were mounted on horseback, and armed with lances and shields. When they came to a river which divides the Spanish and the Indian territory, they proceeded as near as possible to the Spaniards encamped on the other side, and requested in a loud voice, that they might not be fired on, as they had come with a good intent, and desired only to speak to father Valdivia. The father immediately recommending himself, and putting his trust in God, crossed the river. The Indians, the moment that the father appeared within the boundary of their territory, dismounted, threw down their lances on the ground, declared with the most affectionate and endearing terms of salutation and address, how much rejoiced they were at the good news brought from the king of Spain, namely, that no attempt was to be made to force them to serve the Spaniards, which, they said, "We will never do as long as the sun goes round in the heavens."—After a long and friendly conference (for father Valdivia

Valdivia had learnt, and was well acquainted with the Indian tongue in those parts), they requested the father to go, on a certain day, when there was to be a great junta of chiefs, for the purpose of taking what he proposed into consideration, into the interior of their country. As to his personal safety, for this they gave him their word; nor was it possible, they said, that any people could harbour any evil design against a man, who intended to do them so much good. The father readily agreed to do as they desired; and on this they parted.

By this time the new governor, *Don Alonzo de Rivera*, had returned from Tucuman. And he was in conference with Valdivia about the means of fulfilling the king's intentions of peace, and the propagation of the gospel, or, at any rate, of adopting a system of defensive, rather than of offensive war, when a distinguished chief, *Lancamilla*, arrived as a messenger from the Caziques of *Arauco*, *Tucapel*, and *Catiray*, appointing a day and place for a meeting between the Caziques and Father Valdivia. The Father, after receiving the blessed sacrament, putting his life in the hand of God, set out for the place appointed. The moment he arrived, the Caziques threw themselves into his extended arms. *Guyaquimilla*, who appeared

appeared to be the chief, or leading Cazique amongst them, taking him by the hand, saluted him in the name of the whole, and addressed him also in the name of the whole, in a very affectionate, and a very elegant manner. "Not only had his frank arrival amongst them," he said, "occasioned great joy and gladness among the people, to whom he brought so great blessings: the very brute animals, the very hills and vallies, herbs, flowers, fountains, rivers, and rills, leapt for contentment and joy." They called him their father and their mother, and strained, as it were, every nerve, by their mode, both of addressing and entertaining, to make him satisfied and well-pleased with his reception.

When the first fervours of this kind, and hospitable reception, were over, one of the three Caziques said: "Father, all the chief Indians are most desirous of peace; though the people, and the soldiers,* cannot be persuaded that it is sincerely desired by the Spaniards." —"Why not?" Valdivia replied. "For what other end has the king sent me hither? Why have I encountered so many dangers? Why have I, with the concurrence and advice of

* This was a stroke of the most delicate politeness. There was not any incredulity expressed on the part of the chiefs. It was imputed only to the people and soldiers.

the

the governor, and all the military chiefs, committed myself, alone, as you see, into your hands?" The Cazique interrupting the Father, and taking him by the hand, said, "No doubt, what you say is true. The only doubt is, if the peace that the Spaniards seek, be really peace. We know very well, that what they call peace is very acceptable to them. But what they call peace I do not call such. What they would be at, is, that we should lay down our arms, deliver ourselves into their hands, and become their subjects and servants, as if they were our lords and masters. This is not peace, but a constant occasion of war. Peace between the two nations of the Indians and Spaniards, is that kind of peace which is observed between the Indians and Indians, and Spaniards and Spaniards. Such a peace we will embrace with all our hearts; and if it be this that you mean, we will bear you in our arms to the place where the grand Junta is assembled, and accompany you back to your own people. No man will dare to touch you, nor so much as to look you in the face, if it be not to serve you, to do every thing that may be pleasing to you, and to respect and esteem you as a father, and the conservator of our liberty." Valdivia assured them that it was the king's desire that every thing should be settled as they wished it to be.

In the space of three days, after a journey over a rugged country, Valdivia, accompanied by the three Caziques, arrived at *Nancu*, in the centre of *Catiray*, the place fixed on for a general Parliament, or Junta. A circle was formed on a plain, of about fifty *Hulmenes*, (or heads of districts, inhabited by particular societies of people) behind these the captains and soldiers, and, outmost of all, a multitude of others. In the centre of this circle was raised a seat, elevated to considerable height, for Father Valdivia, who ascended this throne, holding in his hand a branch of the cinnamon tree, which was a sign of peace.

The chief *Lancamilla* made a speech, explaining the object of Valdivia's coming among them. Another Cazique stated the motives that had induced the chiefs to assemble, and what had passed in the Junta before the arrival of *Lancamilla* with Father Valdivia. The Father next rose and spoke himself, or through an interpreter when he was fatigued, for the space of no less than three hours; explaining, in a more particular manner than had yet been done, the intentions of the king, the mutual advantages of peace and amity, and intermixing what related to temporal affairs, with religious instruction, respecting the more important concern of the salvation of their souls.

souls. The Indians were struck with admiration at the resolution of the Father, in braving so great dangers, and melted into the greatest affection and love, on account of the zeal he shewed for their well-being here, and salvation in the world of spirits. Some of the more aged Caziques, overcome by such a mixture of heroism and goodness, gave vent to their sentiments in tears. The Cazique *Carampagni*, taking Father Valdivia by the hand, in the name of the whole Junta, returned thanks to the Father, and to the king for his gracious edicts. 'In every thing, he said, they would fulfil his royal wishes and expectation, two only excepted, namely, that they would neither give up their country to plunder, nor their persons to slavery. In return for their good disposition and confidence in the king, they requested that the Spaniards would evacuate Fort *Saint Geronimus*, their possession of which could be no other than a constant subject of jealousy and alarm. This was readily agreed to; and Father Valdivia, accompanied by the whole of the Caziques, returned, within the Spanish settlements, as far as the city of *La Conception*; where they were all received by the governor, with every possible demonstration of affectionate regard and esteem. For the great end to be accomplished, the propagation of the true faith, and the establishment of peace, and a good

Missions of the Jesuits.

good understanding between the Spaniards and Indians, Father Valdivia established two missions; one in the fort of *Monterey*, and one in that of *Arauco*. Father *Horatio Vecchi*, was sent to *Arauco*, and Father *Vicentio Modollel* to *Monterey*. It may appear not a little strange, at this day, in any portion of the Spanish history, to give an account of religious missions, and the heads of missions. But these were of as much importance in those times and circumstances, as military detachments; and the superiours, under whose directions they were, of as much consequence as so many generals.

Religious and moral reform in the Spanish army.

Father Horatio, like an able commander, as well as a faithful soldier of Jesus Christ, as a measure very necessary to be adopted in the spiritual warfare he carried on against the errors and vices of the poor Indians, set himself, by all means, to reform the lives and manners of the officers and soldiers; for he observed, that the bad examples of too many of these, were a dead weight on the doctrines he preached to the Indians, who could scarcely believe what was professed to be sincere, when they daily witnessed what was practised by the Christians. His efforts were constant and persevering, and not altogether without success. Great numbers of both officers and soldiers,

soldiers confessed their sins, received the sacrament of the communion, attended mass, and abstained, at least, from the practice of profane swearing.

A SUSPICION that the Spaniards meant no more by a pacification, than to regain the Indians into slavery, lurked still in the breasts of many of these; and even some of the Spanish soldiers were so much mistaken, or at least, so imprudent, as frequently to let fall expressions to the same effect. Among those who entertained that suspicion particularly, were the two most warlike and distinguished chiefs of *Puren*, *Aynabilu*, and *Anganamon*, with whom Father Valdivia was very desirous of having some conversation. A friar was sent to Puren, to explain, and give farther assurances on the subject of peace, and with a pressing invitation to these chiefs to come to Father Valdivia, who was at the Spanish fort of *Paycavi*. They came accordingly with other chiefs, bringing along with them three Spanish prisoners, two men and one woman, whom they were desirous of exchanging for some Indians of note that had fallen into the hands of the Spaniards. They were escorted only by 40 soldiers. When they came to the fort, they laid down their arms in token of the confidence they reposed in the word of

Father Valdivia. A long and friendly conference ensued: the result of which was, that "Peace and friendship should thenceforth take place between the Indians and the Spaniards, without any pretensions to superiority on the one part or the other. That the boundary between the two contracting powers should be the river *Biobio*. Fugitives from either side to the other to be returned, on demand, to their respective nations. The fort of *Paycavi* to be evacuated; but not till the return of *Anganamon* from a journey to the other Indians of war, whom he wished to bring over, and unite with the other tribes, in a general pacification. On the return, and expected success of *Anganamon*, the fort of *Paycavi* to be evacuated, and a free, and safe, and secure entrance to be opened to the order of the Jesuits for preaching the Gospel."

Capitulation between the Spaniards and the Indians of war.

An immediate exchange of prisoners was agreed to; and *Anganamon*, to shew his perfect confidence in the Spaniards, very gallantly gave up his prisoners first. When these entered the fort the others went out. The Spaniards and Indians parted, under a joyful anticipation, on both sides, of the full establishment of friendship and peace. On the departure of the Indians, they were saluted by a discharge of all the artillery of the ramparts.

While

Not carried into effect, and why.

While the great chief, *Anganamon*, pursued his object of conciliation and peace with great fervour, zeal, and success, an event happened which effected an entire revolution in his sentiments towards the Christians, and turned him from their warmest, as well as most powerful friend, into their most implacable and dreadful enemy. Among a number of wives that he had, was a Spanish lady that he had taken prisoner, who had brought him two sons, and two other wives that had been converted by her to Christianity. In the absence of her lord, she found means of making her way, though the way was long and full of difficulty and danger, accompanied by her two sons, and the other two Christians, the Indian women, to the fort of *Paycavi*, which she reached on the 11th of December, 1612. The joy which was felt at the safe arrival of these religious and heroic ladies, was greatly damped by an apprehension of the effect that this occurrence must naturally have on the mind of *Anganamon*.

In the mean time, some of the Caziques of *Elicura* and Puren, hearing of what had been promised, with every appearance of sincerity, by Father *Valdivia* and the Spanish government, came to the fort of *Paycavi*, and made peace with the Spaniards. But a famous

chief of *Catiray*, called *Lebulican*, and some *Mestezoes*, renegadoes from the Spaniards, conscious of crimes, and averse to peace and friendship between the Spaniards and the *Indians of war*, to whom they had fled, spread a report, with too much success, that the peace held out by Father Valdivia, and the government of Chili, was hollow and deceitful. It was therefore resolved to send the Fathers *Horatio Vecchi* and *Martin de Aranda*, to the Indians of war, to counteract the poison of that report, to confirm the wavering, and to bring over the hostile tribes, or districts, to ideas of peace and friendship with the Christians.

The fathers had proceeded as far as *Elicura*, when *Anganamon*, breathing deadly revenge against the Christians, to whom he had applied in vain for the liberation of his wives, or at least of his sons (for he either did not, or pretended not to make great account of his wives), with 200 soldiers on horseback, fell upon the *Elicureans*, who had made peace with the Spaniards, and received the fathers with kindness, all of a sudden, while they, thinking of nothing but peace, were unprepared to resist his fury. The principal chiefs, and all the men that did not effect their escape to the mountains, were massacred.

massacred. The two friars, *Horatio Vecchi* and *Martin de Aranda*, with DIEGO DE MONTALBAN, a lay brother, had gone through part of the service of the church, and were preparing for the communion, at an altar which they carried along with them. Alarmed at the noise and shrieks they heard, they ran to see what was the matter, when they fell in with *Anganamon*, who, in an indignant and angry tone, demanded why they had not restored his wives. Father *Aranda*, in the meekest manner, replied, that, as they were all Christians, they could not return without a previous settlement of the manner in which they were to be received and treated. They must be allowed the free exercise of the religion they had embraced. It was to settle these matters, and to prepare the way for the restitution required that they had entered into his country. Every difficulty would be smoothed, and perfect harmony restored, if he too would embrace Christianity. The fathers, agreeably to the usage of the country, attempted to appease him with presents, which he rejected with disdain, and ordered them all three to be immediately stripped naked, and put to death. Father *Aranda* begged that he alone might die; but that the lives of the other two, *Vecchi* and *Montalban*, might be spared, for the furtherance of peace, and the propagation of Christianity. *Anganamon*

fiercely replied, "I want not either peace or Christianity;" and ordered his executioners instantly to perform their office. The instruments of death they used were bludgeons, with nails stuck into them, and lances. The date of this martyrdom was, 14th of December, A. D. 1612.

Massacre and martyrdom of three Jesuits.

So intricate are the connections of things, and so limited human foresight, that events are often followed by effects the very reverse of what was intended, or might have been expected. It was the marriage of a Spanish lady to the powerful chief *Anganamon*, and her success in making proselytes among the infidels, that prevented a pacification, though in so fair a train, that would have opened access to the Catholic religion into all the mountains and vallies of Chili.

All hopes of peace and amity, through the medium of religion, at an end.

ALL hopes of gaining the Indians, through the medium of religion, being over, Father Valdivia returned to Spain *.

Father Valdivia returns to Spain, and gives an account of

WHEN father Valdivia found it in vain to resist the torrent that had raged against the introduction of Christianity into the mountainous regions of Chili, he thought that it

* Historica Relacione, &c. por Alonzo D'Ovaglie, lib. vii. cap. vi.

was

was expedient "to cast Jonas into the sea," to return to Spain, and to lay before the king a true statement of all that had passed. This was the more necessary, that there was a party among the Spaniards who set their faces against the protection and kind treatment of the Indians, for which the missioners laboured with so much courage and zeal, and which they represented not only as visionary, but mischievous. The father was received at court with every mark of respect, esteem, and confidence. He was offered a seat in the COUNCIL OF THE INDIES; which, with other proffered honours, he declined to accept.—He returned, after sojourning for some time at Madrid, to his cell in the province of Castille; and all that he could be prevailed on to accept from the grateful munificence of his majesty, was a liberal donation for the foundation of an excellent library: which he could do, consistently with his vow of poverty, as the library was not in the nature of private property, but a common benefit to the Jesuits, and the youth trained up for admission into their order.

the state of affairs in Chili and other parts.

THERE were at this time many of this order, equally ardent in their zeal, and pure and sublime in their views with father Valdivia. The enthusiasm inspired by LOYOLA, *Xavier*, and all the first companions of

Zeal and success of the Jesuits in propagating the Catholic faith.

the order, A. D. 1540, had not evaporated, and the institution, in the progress of time, and the variation of circumstances, had received many improvements from men of equal zeal and more knowledge. In the reign of Philip III. the glory of the Jesuits may be said to have been at its height. They had proved the spiritual and celestial motives by which they were actuated in different parts of the world. China, Japan, and, as just related, in Chili. A succession of popes had proclaimed their glorious efforts and sufferings in *Apostolical Letters*, confirming their institution, and extending their privileges. Their intellectual powers were roused and sharpened by the revival of letters, discoveries in science, and literary and religious contests with the *Lutherans* and other reformers; and, on the whole, in respect of both zeal and knowledge, they possessed a decided and vast superiority over the other mendicant orders.—To crown their prosperity, Philip III. granted them the privilege, not only of forming settlements, but of governing them. This was the abundant source of wealth and power. But this, as in the case of all religious establishments productive of these, was the occasion of their fall and ruin*.

Establishment of a republic by the Jesuits in Paraguay.

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* The basis of their fame, and acceptation in the world, is poverty, humility, and voluntary privation and suffering

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It is not permitted by the limits of this sketch, neither is it required by the present design, to state the rise, progress, and fall of the Jesuits; a career co-extended with many reigns, and which forms, of itself, an ample field, and one well worthy of a separate history. The reign of Philip III., however, their great patron, the founder of their power, and the forerunner and author of their fate, is a point from which we are solicited to take some notice, a view, though very general, of this curious event in the history of mankind.

Parental affection of the kings of Spain towards their Indian subjects.

The kings of Spain always regarded the poor Indians, added to the number of their subjects, whether by force or religious persuasion, with parental tenderness. Charles V. recommended nothing more earnestly to the governors whom he sent to his American provinces, than that they should take with them some priests, both secular and regular, and supply them with whatever was necessary for facilitating their functions.

in the cause of religion. It is in vain for priests to try to unite the relinquishment of these with the retention of their influence, credit, and glorious reputation; to hitch their consequence from a stool of poverty and self-denial, to a throne of affluence and splendor.

Philip

Philip II. and III. followed his example. *Franciscans* and other mendicants, spred throughout the provinces, learnt the language of the different tribes, conversed with them in private, preached the Gospel, heard confessions, visited the sick, administered every relief or consolation in their power to the afflicted or distressed, and, agreeably to the spirit of the religion they professed, and the earnest wishes of the kings of Spain, used their utmost endeavours for protecting them against the oppression of the Spaniards, to whom particular districts with the services of the natives were given, as to feudal lords, under the title of *Encomienda*.

Constitution of the order of Jesuits.

But the religious order that was the most zealous, intelligent, able, and successful in this humane and heavenly course, was the Jesuits. Besides their three vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience to their general, they were under a special vow of obedience to the Pope, whose commands they were promptly and implicitly to obey, into whatever part of the world it should be his will they should be sent, whether for the propagation, or the defence of the Catholic faith, impiously and blasphemously attacked by heretics. The metaphors by which the ministers of the word are denoted in the Gospel are various—shepherds,

herds, labourers in a vineyard, fishers of men, and so on; but that by which, chiefly, the Jesuits affected to be distinguished, was "Soldiers of Jesus Christ." A very apt one, no doubt; for to attain the end they had in view, the defence and propagation of the Gospel among the barbarous savages and heretics, often more cruel and unrelenting, was a constant "fight of faith;" a life of hardship, danger, and, as it were, of martyrdom and death.

As soldiers are not permitted to remain long in one place, and to be amalgamated with the people among whom they are for a time stationed, so the Jesuits were under orders to hold themselves in constant readiness to march from one place to another. A kind of ambulatory life was necessarily connected with their profession. Jesus Christ, they observed, instructed the first apostles, when "they should be persecuted in one place, to go to another."

As particular regard was paid to the peculiar talents, or gifts and graces with which individuals were endowed, in the selection of them for particular embassies or missions, so the Jesuits, in their dealings with the individuals,

duals, whom it was their object to convert, and to make instruments for the conversion of others, were extremely attentive to their particular genius, their predominant habits and passions. It was a part of their plan, and, as it were, their spiritual tactics, to study, not only to acquire a deep insight into human nature and the ways of men, in general, but to know times, places, circumstances, and what was peculiar in the situation, character, and views of individuals. This, if it did not appear, from the instructions they received from the rules and precepts of their institution, and the repeated injunctions of the Popes, would be rendered sufficiently manifest from the books they have published, giving an account of their travels and conduct; which form a most valuable addition to the stores of literary information and entertainment. To the learned they rendered themselves acceptable and respectable, by their attainments in literature and science; to the refined and elegant, by the politeness of their manners and address; to the poor, by the mercy and goodness of their actions, and the affability, kindness, and sweetness of their deportment, address, and language*.

* *Literæ Apostolicæ, quibus Institutio, Confirmatio et variâ privilegia Continentur* SOCIETATIS JESU.

THE

The whole of this constitution of the Jesuits was linked together by a subordination and dependency of parts into one compact monarchy,—into one hierarchy, at the summit of which was God himself, next the Pope, his vicegerent and representative on earth; and after him, the general of the society, whom the members were enjoined to consider as Christ personally present, and to venerate, as far as it might be decent to venerate, a mortal. Every companion of the order might entertain hopes of rising to the highest dignity in it. It was a glorious society, of which the Supreme Being was the patron and head. The Pope, Jesus Christ, and God himself, they considered as belonging to their fraternity; as members of their society or club. The piety of frail men was heightened and fortified by emotions of ambition, vanity, and self-love.

All true believers are members of a spiritual body, of which the head is Christ; and all Catholics, as well as the Jesuits, are bound to pay obedience to the Pope. But there was somewhat more animating in the pharisaical notion, that they were a peculiar and chosen order. Their Catholic zeal was reanimated by the idea, that they were a peculiar people, zealous of good works. There was a passion

peculiar

peculiar to a class or *junta*, an *Esprit du Corps* amongst them, which increased, and remained, and prevailed after the original enthusiasm of the order had wholly vanished away. There was nothing that the Scotch Covenanters were not bound to believe, to do, or to suffer, as Christians, by the Old and New Testaments. But the Bible, the common stock of all Christians, was a less interesting and lively object, a less animating rallying point than the Covenant.

Such was the spring, such the qualifications, motives, and impulse that carried the Jesuits through the grand work of establishing a Christian republic.

Hardships and difficulties which the Jesuits had to encounter in spreading the Gospel, and in establishing their republic.

It might be thought, considering the benefits and blessings, temporal and spiritual, held out to the poor and miserable Indians, for such in reality they were, by their admission into this common-wealth, that the formation of it could not be a work of any great difficulty; and that nothing more could be necessary than to bring them together, and harangue them in a sermon. Nevertheless, it was the most arduous, as well as the noblest task, that was ever performed by legislative wisdom and virtue.

The

THE Jesuits, in their various missions, in Paraguay, as in all other parts of America, were forced to suffer a thousand hardships and privations; they had to acquire a knowledge of the various languages, and idioms of the language of different nations and tribes; to maintain a constant conflict with the natural defects and vices of the Indians, and also, with the opposition and calumnies of too many of their own countrymen; to whom the guardians and friends of their feudal dependents, or rather slaves, appeared in the light of enemies to their interest, power, and arbitrary domination.

General character of the Indians.

THERE are shades of character among the different nations; but the general characteristics of all the Indians, it is universally agreed, are the most gross ignorance and stupidity, respecting at least the common objects of our knowledge; ingratitude, levity, or inconstancy; sloth, brutal sensuality of every kind; and particularly in the Torrid zone, and the nearest regions on either hand of the temperate zones, a strong mixture of timidity on some occasions, with a savage ferocity on others. From this fault of excessive timidity springs the vices of lying, deceit, and dissimulation. The timid Indians can never be sufficiently persuaded that they are

are out of danger. They hate the Europeans, because they fear them. If even the missioners, whose goodness they had experienced, and whose corporal chastisements were never excessively severe, spake a harsh word to them, they would sometimes set off in the night, from what are called the *missions*, or *reductions*, resembling our villages or parishes, and return to their old life among their kindred savages. Their intention of flight they concealed by the profoundest simulation. They were more than ordinarily regular and assiduous in their attention to their catechism, and their attendance at mass. They made more frequent visits to the missionaries, exaggerated their poverty, and prayed for succour.

As there was not any government or subordination of society in the nation or tribe, so neither was there any authority, order, or union in the particular families of which it was composed. The children were suffered to skip about and cut capers, like young kids, and just to do what they pleased, without receiving any kind of instruction, correction, or reproof. While young, they were caressed by their parents with the tenderest affection; but at a more advanced period, when they approached the age of puberty,

berty; there arose between parents and children a mutual aversion and hatred. If any one recollected that he had been beaten, (for there was no idea of such a thing as chastisement, or punishment for their good,) he would take revenge by beating his father in the cruellest manner; and that too, when, under the infirmity of old age, the father had not the power of defending himself against the high passion and youthful vigour of his offspring.

THE paramount vice of the Indians, or that to which they were addicted above all others, was drunkenness; and next to that, a violent, irregular, and brutal desire of another kind, unqualified by any tenderness of affection, or any sentiment that might palliate and render it respectable. There are some tribes among whom adultery is held in detestation. But there are others among whom all the satisfaction required by the injured party, is, reprisals, *toties quoties*, on the wife of the offender. There are others, where nothing is more common than to exchange wives, for a time, months or years; and when their curiosity is abundantly gratified, to take their first wives back again.—It was customary, or rather a kind of law sanctioned by custom, among the *Ottomaci*, a nation on the *Oronooco*, that the boys,

when they arrive at the age of puberty, should become the husbands of widows; and that the widowers again, and these only, should be permitted to marry young virgins. For this singular arrangement two reasons were given. The first, in the judgment of father *Gumilla*, the Jesuit (on whose authority this is related), is so indecent that he declines to mention it: so that it must be left entirely to the conjecture of the reader. The second is not unplausible. They said, that "to unite a young man and young woman, was to tie two fools together; but to give him a wife a good deal older than himself, was to put him into the hands of an experienced and wise counsellor, qualified to instruct him how to live, and how to procure the means of living." The young men, thus unequally yoked, console themselves with the reflection, that the day of desirable things will come sometime, and that when their old wife dies, they will be at liberty to please their own fancy.—But, after all that can be urged in defence of this custom, it is allowed to have been a miserable source of jealousy, infidelity, discord, and domestic hostilities.

The extreme stupidity of the Indians, or rather their total want of reflection, is illustrated by the following anecdotes:—An Indian of the nation of *Salivas*, who had been converted

converted from idolatry to Christianity, that is, who, after repeated efforts, with no great success, to hammer into his head some notion of its leading doctrines, had been baptized, was reduced by illness to skin and bone, and at the gates of death. He was visited one day by the missionary, his spiritual father, who comforted him with the assurances that he should in a very short time be in heaven. The missionary returned to the Indian's hut in the evening, when he found all his family very busy in digging a grave for him at his bed-side, and poor Ignatius (for that was the name given him at baptism) looking at what they were doing with great composure. "What are you about?" said the missionary, who was quite surprised, with great emotion. "You told us, father, that Ignatius was going to heaven; and we are going to bury him, that he may get there as soon as possible." "When God shall have taken his soul," the father replied, "we will not bury his body there, but at the foot of the cross, with those of other Christians." The Indians said, "That must not be, father; for he will not be able to bear the rain." They desisted, however, by the persuasion of the missioner, from their design of burying Ignatius alive; and he lived for some months there after. But the circumstance to the present purpose

is, that those simple people believed, that though Ignatius should be in heaven, he might yet be annoyed by the rain, if he should be buried, not under cover, but at the foot of the cross.

One of the Jesuits, a missioner in Peru, went by appointment to explain to a Cazique the doctrines and mysteries of the Christian religion. The Cazique heard him to the end of a long discourse with profound silence and attention. But all that he could gather from this was, that the father set his face against his sins, or the improper indulgence of his appetites and passions; and that there was a place called hell, to which, if people went, they would be burnt. The Cazique therefore replied, "My sins are very good. I feel them all about me yet. I will not go to burn myself."

When one compares the stupidity of the Indians, in some things, with their artful contrivances and stratagems in others, he is at a loss what to conclude. It is not to be greatly wondered at that they should be dull in comprehension with regard to spiritual or abstract subjects, for want of general terms. But the subtilty of invention they sometimes shew, particularly in war, which we have seen exemplified

emplified in the warriors of Chili, would seem to prove, either that men can think, and that profoundly too, without the aid of general terms, or that the Indians supply the want of these by some methods of associating and combining ideas with which we are unacquainted, in the same manner as elephants, beavers, foxes, and other animals.

Difficulties to be encountered by the Jesuits and other missionaries in converting the Indians.

To make Christians of the Indians, notwithstanding the dulness of their comprehension, and their vices, particularly their inveterate propensity to polygamy and to intoxication, was indeed an arduous task; one that required the utmost assiduity, patience, and perseverance. When a sculptor or statuary, or any other artist that works on inanimate materials, has laboured them once into the desired form, his work is over. But the evil habits and vices of the Indian *Neophytes* were constantly returning, and the labours of the Jesuits as constantly to be renewed.

But among all the virtues necessary in the character of a missioner, that of fortitude was the most indispensible, as well as the most noble and glorious; as we have just seen in taking a glance at the missions in Chili. It was often found necessary, even in the milder climate of Peru, to protect the missions in

their tuition by a corporal's or a serjeant's guard of soldiers; for these small parties were sufficient against any sudden ebullition of passion among savages.

The Indians not entirely destitute of ether capacity or a sense of moral obligation and religion.

In conjunction with the gross ignorance and stupidity of the Indians, their levity, ingratitude, and brutal appetites and passions, were found, a degree of good sense and of virtue, particularly sincerity, which encouraged the missioners to persevere in their labour of love with unremitting assiduity and perseverance. They acknowledged a moral "law written in their hearts," as the Apostle Paul finely expresses it, by sneaking away when they were discovered, or likely to be discovered, on the commission of a heinous crime, as murder or adultery, where adultery was held in abhorrence, and hiding themselves for a long time in the woods. They had some confused notion, too, of a Supreme and All-ruling Power, as appeared from their lifting up their eyes and hands, when under any great distress, and imploring the succour of heaven.

Their natural sense was very frequently displayed by observations made, and questions put by the missioners, which must have appeared to their religious instructors not a little embarrassing. Among the inconsistencies,

tencies, which form the most distinguishing feature in their character, is their irreverence and total disregard of their parents, while living, and their grief and lamentations for their loss after their death. "Ah," said an Indian, after a long and profound silence, to a Jesuit, "my father, how can God suffer my ancestors to be damned and burnt, when he did not send missioners to instruct them?"

THE laws of civilized and refined nations, are founded on a general consideration of what is good for the whole society, at least for the good of the great and powerful, with as much good too, as is consistent with this to all orders of men, low as well as high, poor as well as rich. But, an Indian, who has no notion of a system of law, formed on such complications, very naturally considers some of our laws as very strange, and not obligatory on a free and independent man. When the missioners reprimanded the Indians for stealing any thing from their neighbours, and shewed them that this was a great sin, and deserving severe punishment, they would often reply: "It is true I stole it from him, but he himself stole it from such or such another person."

A VERY curious conversation once took place between one of the Jesuits of Paraguay and an

Curious conversation between an

Indian and Jesuit.

an Indian, on the subject of drinking *chica*, (a strong fermented liquor) to excess. The father expatiated on its pernicious effects; on health, reason, and morals. The Indian said, "father, you speak against *chica* because it would give you a head-ach, not being accustomed to drink it; but if you would learn to drink *chica*, it would not hurt you, and you would find it very good."—It was very up-hill work to wean the converts from drinking *chica*. But many of them, through the wise management of the missioners, were actually weaned from it; and this was one of their greatest triumphs. The method they took to effect this reform, or rather cure, was to allow a certain quantity at stated times, which they swore not to exceed: at first, as much as they had been accustomed to drink, and lowering it by degrees, till at last they did very well without it, and gave up drinking *chica* altogether.

THE following occurrence displays at once the humane and godly zeal of the missionary Jesuits, and the simplicity, sincerity, and good dispositions of some of their Indian converts. Father Tolu had succeeded in banishing chica altogether from the *reduction* or village under his care in Paraguay, when it

was

was smuggled again into the district, and the Indians returned, and even with an increased propensity, to their former miserable habits. The father, having exhausted all his exhortation in vain, said to them one day, in his sermon, "My children, if you continue to drink, you will make me die; for I feel that I cannot behold your excesses and live." It so happened, that on his return home from the chapel, he was taken ill, and died soon after. The poor Indians, struck with grief, remorse, and awe, abandoned the use of *chica* for ever.

THE missioners, though they admitted the truth of all that was urged by *Encomienderos*, or *feudal lords*, in proof that the Indians were greatly below the common standard of human nature, denied the inference, that they were fit only to be treated as mere slaves or beasts of burthen: they justly contended, that their inferiority was owing to their want of education; and they proved their assertion by fact, by reclaiming them from the life of savages roaming through the woods, bringing them together in fixed habitations, instructing them in morals, religion, and arts; and exhibiting to the world a most illustrious proof and example, that the human mind is to be moulded into any form by education, and by laws; and that there was nothing altogether

ther visionary and impracticable in the *Oceana* of *Harrington*, or the Republic of *Plato*.

AMONG the maxims and measures by which the Jesuits steadily pursued, and at last accomplished their great and good design, were the following:

Maxims and measures of the Jesuits in converting the Indians.

FIRST, they set themselves to remove the apprehensions of the Indians, and to impress them with a belief and conviction that they had come among them from the great world beyond the ocean, through a thousand hardships and perils, purely for their good. It was not an easy thing, at first, for the missioners to get access to them. As self-preservation is the first law of nature, the first sensation produced by a new and unknown object, is fear. When the Jesuits, or other Spaniards came to the huts of the Indians, they were frightened at the appearance of men wearing clothes. The women and children screamed, and even the men fled to the woods. It was by means of other Indians, living under the Spanish government, and converted to Christianity, at least acquainted with the existence of God, and Christ, and heaven, and hell, and were baptised, that the missioners made their approaches to the wild Indians. The best instructed, the most adroit and discreet of the Neophytes

Neophytes were deputed as missioners to their countrymen. They carried with them some presents, trifling in the eyes of a European, but to the Indians, matters of great curiosity, and articles of great value. Letters of compliment to the Cazique accompanied these, which the Christian Indians had it in charge to explain. Not a word was to be said of any wish on the part of the missioners to see the Cazique. The meaning of the embassy, presents, and letters, was to be understood as nothing more than an act of good manners, an expression of a wish for peace and good neighbourhood. Any farther advance at this stage of the business would have only served to excite jealousy. The Cazique then naturally put the question, From whence the missioners came? what was their profession? what was their object in coming to the Indian country? what they were doing? and how they behaved to the Indians that were about them? Satisfactory answers being given to all these questions, two or three of the most respected Indians generally accompanied the deputies in their return to the fathers, chiefly, if not entirely, from the motive of curiosity.

First intercourse between the missioners and the Indians.

If the Cazique and tribe to whom the first embassy was sent, was of a lofty and proud spirit,

spirit, as they frequently were, a second, and even a third embassy was necessary, to soften and incline them to a friendly intercourse. The missioner now ventured to say, through his deputy, that he had the greatest desire to pay a visit to the chief, but that he was so much engaged in some concerns, that it was not in his power. The Cazique on this never failed to send an invitation to the missioner; and a particular month or moon, (which was designated by the name of some principal fruit of the season,) was fixed for meeting and receiving him. The missioner, accompanied by thirteen or fourteen of his Neophytes, for guides, and for carrying provisions, sets out on the journey, commonly a very long one, three or four hundred miles, or more. The provisions were soon devoured by the Indians, who are all great gluttons, and cannot refrain from eating voraciously whenever it is in their power. They had to depend afterwards on the fruit and roots they could pick up, and the fish and game they could catch; birds, monkies, wild boars, and so on. It was generally thought prudent to have a small escort of two or three soldiers, as every one of the Indians, that was capable, bore arms. This small escort, while it could not alarm the tribe or its chief, was sufficient, as above observed, to repress any sudden sally

of

of one, or a few individuals. Fires were lighted in the night for keeping away the tygers.

When the missioner with his suite drew near to the residence of the Cazique, a messenger was sent to announce their coming, a day before their arrival. The Cazique assembled the chief people among his tribe, and was prepared to receive them in a spacious hall, open on each side to the four winds of the heavens; or rather a canopy, formed of the branches and leaves of trees, intertwined with straw or rushes, and supported by trunks of trees, fixed in the ground by way of colonnades. A hammock was swung for the missioner between two beams of wood set up for the purpose. He was allowed to wait for some time in the hall, for repose, before the Cazique with his attendants made their appearance. In the mean time, the Indians were employed in dressing, that is, painting themselves, for appearing at court in a suitable manner.

The Cazique at length made his appearance; and, as soon as he was within easy hearing, said to the missioner, "You are come then?" The missioner replied, "I am come." Every one of his captains, or chief warriors, made the same salutation, and received

ceived the same reply. The Cazique, and the wives of his officers, immediately, without saying another word to the missioner, set before him a plate of victuals, such bread as they had, and a bottle of chica. The wive of other inhabitants of the village did the same; so that the whole floor of this hall of audience was in an instant covered with dishes of meat and vessels replenished with *chica*.—All this passed in profound silence. The missioner then chose the dish he liked best, and ate just as much or as little as he pleased. But he was not at the same liberty with respect to the *chica*; being obliged, if he had not a mind to give offence, to taste, or make a shew of tasting of every one's bottle. This was a formidable ceremony to the missioner; for *chica*, when one is not accustomed to it, is very apt to occasion a violent head-ach: but the feast was quite to the taste, and fully enjoyed by his suite.

The accomplished Cicero tells his friend and correspondent *Atticus*, that he had a volume of prefaces or introductions always by him, and ready to be made use of, as circumstances or occasions might require. A similar method of facilitating, and expediting composition was fallen on by the Caziques of Peru. They had their harangue for the reception

ception of strangers of distinction, which they called their *mirray*, ready for any occasion. A mirray of some kind, for it admitted of variation according to the genius of the author, was taught to every chief by his parents from his earliest years. There were in each of them certain customary compliments; but they were varied by flights of fancy, and the mirrays actually spoken, were very ingeniously interspersed with sentiments suited to the peculiar circumstances in which they were pronounced.—In reply to the Cazique's mirray the missioner delivered another, in which, among a variety of particulars, he recounted the dangers he had escaped in his voyage from Europe; and expatiated on the motives that led him to undertake it, which neither were, nor could be, any other than a concern for the welfare of the Indians, a desire to conciliate their good will and friendship, to rescue and preserve them from all ills, and to defend them against all their enemies. These professions of benevolence were followed by presents, first to the Cazique and his wives, and next to his captains. But it was necessary that every one present, both men and women, should have something, if only a pin, for picking the vermin out of their feet.

Presents made to the Indians.

It was not, after all, by any thing the missioner could say or do, that the minds of the Indians were reconciled to the idea of holding any intercourse, or reposing any confidence in the strangers. This was wholly the work of the Neophytes, who assured their countrymen, that all the missioner had spoken was, to their certain knowledge, no more than the truth; all they sought after was to do good to the Indians, and to receive their love and confidence in return. They would protect them against their enemies, take care of their sick, and furnish them with instruments for cultivating the fields, and other purposes. They assured them, in a particular manner, that they entertained the warmest love for their children, whom they would teach how "to look at paper," (their phrase for teaching them to read). The Indians were, above all things, struck with the fact, that the missioners had quitted, for their sakes, their wives (as they thought) and children.

In the mean time, while the Neophytes were thus happily employed in conversation with their countrymen, the missioner himself went from hut to hut, visiting the sick, and baptising both infants and adults that seemed to be at the point of death. In the course of this visitation he was followed by troops of children,

children, attracted by curiosity, and delighting in motion, of whom he never failed to take the kindest notice, or to give them pins, and hooks for catching fish, and other trifles. Sometimes he would, when he was about to enter a hut, take one of them in his arms, and caress the child in the tenderest manner; which was very pleasing to the parents of other children, whose mothers would present their children to be caressed in like manner. On such occasions the father would sometimes embrace the opportunity of baptising the child, which did not offend the parents; with the secret intention of explaining both to the parents and the child the nature of this initiatory rite, afterwards. He would also tie strings of glass beads and ribbons about the children's necks; which had a wonderfully good effect in conciliating the favour of their mothers. It was always the wives that first declared themselves in favour of the missioner. They were incessant in their importunities with their husbands to use their utmost endeavours for keeping the missioner amongst them; or, if this could not be effected, that they might all accompany him in his return. The innocent children too, who returned the affection shewn to them with great sensibility, would join their intercessions for the same end, to the importunities of their mothers.

THERE was nothing that gave greater offence to the Indians than to seem indifferent, and much more to decline a participation in their feasts or other offers of hospitality and kindness. For this reason, just noticed, the fathers were obliged to drink some chica, and even to taste a little of every one's bottle. But a severer trial was sometimes to be encountered than that of the chica. It was customary among some Indian nations, as among several Tartar tribes, for men of distinction to offer to their guests the company of any one of his wives. When such an offer was made to a missioner, it would have been as imprudent as impolitic, to reject the offer at once, in any tone of positiveness or decision.—After many expressions of gratitude, and compliments too, to the personal merits of the wives, who were generally present, he turned the conversation a little aside to spiritual concerns, and then reverting to the great mark of hospitality with which he had been honoured, said, that he loved only heavenly things; that he desired nothing in this world, and that he aspired to nothing more than to indulge an affection for the Indian nations, and to do them good.

Singular instance of hospitality on the part of the Indian Caziques to the strangers of distinction who visit them.

WHEN the savage people were at length fully convinced that the missioner was their sincere

sincere friend, numbers came to him every day, expecting to receive some immediate token of that benevolence and beneficence of which they heard so many reports. They were by no means shy or delicate on this subject. One asked a hatchet, another a saw, a third a chisel or knife, and so on. In general they had sense enough to ask the articles that were of most use to themselves, but at the same time the most costly, and, being the most bulky, of the most difficult conveyance. On such critical occasions, which demanded the greatest management and address, the missioner was obliged to put them off, without offending, or even leaving them discontented, the best way he could. He told them that, from so great a distance, he had not been able to carry more of such tools than two or three for the Cazique, who would not refuse to lend them occasionally; but if they would settle in fixed habitations, or places adapted to fishing, in such and such places, which he pointed out, it would be as much in his power, as it was in his inclination, to come to see them now and then; to furnish them with instruments of various kinds, and to visit the sick. The success of the mission generally turned on this reply of the missioner to the request of the Indians. If it pleased them, the Cazique, with his chief men,

pitched on some place in the vicinity of some *reduction* or colony already established, and settled there. They stirred up the earth, and sowed grain. When the time of harvest arrived, they came with their families to reap it, and built huts to dwell in.

It sometimes happened, that within the precincts of the *reductions*, or parishes of Catechumens or Neophytes, there was abundant room for new settlers. In such cases the missioner would undertake to have fields sown for the wild Indians, and houses built for their reception, when they should come to enjoy the harvest and other blessings. At other times it happened, that wars and hereditary feuds subsisted between the Caziques applied to, for the purpose of civilizing their people, and the Caziques who were lords of the territory in which Christian colonies were already settled. The missioners, in such cases, used their utmost endeavours for mediating a reconciliation; and peace once made was permanent. It was notified in a very singular manner. The parties, by mutual consent, gave each other a hearty drubbing with sticks; and this battle of cudgels for ever terminated their mutual hostility and strife.

When the missioners succeeded in their efforts

efforts to draw the Indians from their solitary, wild, and erratic life, to live together in villages, and cultivate the soil, the most arduous and dangerous part of their work was over. They now set themselves to instruct them, by degrees, in religious and other useful knowledge. Their first steps were guided chiefly by two rules or maxims: to direct their main endeavours, and found their main hopes on the education of the children, whose natural candour, curiosity, and vivacity rendered them most susceptible of both receiving and retaining new impressions; and to make their way to the understandings and the hearts of the rude and savage people, through their senses and imaginations, by pictures, processions, music, the splendour of the sacerdotal dress, and in all the pomp and pageantry of the Roman Catholic religion. The Indians, particularly those of the regions watered by the mighty Rio de la Plata, are famous for having fine ears for music; and those of La Plata, more especially those of Paraguay, for the strength, and at the same time the sweetness of their voice. Numbers of the youth were employed in the chapels as singers. Their parents accounted this a greater honour than preferment to any civil or political office of which they had any conception. Thus music, pomp, and glittering

Principal maxims of the Jesuits in converting the Indians.

shew prepared the way of morality and religion.

THE Protestants seldom, and the Calvinists never succeed in their attempts to make converts among savage, or even barbarous nations; metaphysical speculations or acts of faith being entirely above their capacity. Something is necessary for the imagination to rest upon; something to strike and please the senses.

THE general labour of the Jesuits for the propagation of the Faith was divided into various departments; and great care was taken that each should be occupied by men of suitable qualifications. One class was employed as teachers in their colleges; a second in the various functions of religion, in towns in which, besides Spaniards, were a number of negroes and Indians; a third in the country, around the towns that supplied these with provisions, and was pretty thickly interspersed with farmsteads, to the distance of six, or seven, or more miles; a fourth, to a distance that required them to be absent from their colleges, not only for days and weeks, but even three or four months, while they visited the garrisons and frontier towns, and advanced beyond these into the territory of unsubdued, and even of hostile tribes;

The Jesuits employed in different departments.

tribes; endeavouring, in the manner just mentioned, that is, by the cords of love, to draw the poor Indians from their woods and deserts into the Christian fold.

THE Jesuits had established themselves in every province of Spanish America, when the bishop and the governor of Paraguay received, in the year 1609, from his Catholic majesty Philip III., an express order, "That no attempt should be made to subdue the Indians of Paraguay otherwise than by the sword of the word, unless they first, without any provocation, committed hostilities against the Spaniards. Except in this case, none but missioners were to be employed in reducing them to civilization and submission; as they alone, by gentle modes of persuasion, could bring them over to a voluntary obedience. He did not want forced homage. He did not even mean to deprive those poor people of their liberty, but merely to rescue them from a savage, licentious, and wretched kind of life, instruct them in the knowledge of the true God, and induce them to adore and serve him. He was very ready to admit them among the number of his subjects, but with no other view than that of making them good and happy. Above all things, he strictly enjoined the Spaniards, as he had done before

Royal schedule, or letter in favour of the Indians.

in repeated edicts, not on any account to make slaves of the Indians."

In consequence of these orders, the bishop and the governor engaged father *Diego de Torrez*, provincial of the Jesuits of Paraguay, to take upon him the conversion of the wild Indians. Two missioners of his order were sent out by the provincial for this purpose. But it was previously agreed on, and formally settled, that the Jesuits should have full power to form all their converts into communities or townships; to govern them without any dependence whatever on the cities, fortresses, or other Spanish establishments, in whose neighbourhood they might settle: in all these to build churches; and, in the king's name, oppose all those who should attempt to subject those new Christians to personal servitude. A vague rumour of this last condition excited a jealousy among the *Encomienderos*, lest the conversion of the Indians should finally emancipate the Indians on their own estates also from bondage; and they began to look upon the Jesuits, to whom they had formerly shewn countenance and favour, with coldness, mistrust, and a degree of aversion. The missioners, who were the fathers Cataldino and Macerata, judging it expedient to come to a clear understanding with respect to

Alarms the Encomienderos.

to the matter in doubt, endeavoured to make them sensible how consonant those powers and orders were with the principles of justice, equity, and religion; and at the same time how conducive to the temporal interests of the Spaniards. They did not mean, they said, to oppose or hinder the advantages that might be derived from the Indians in a lawful way; but to make mere slaves of them, was equally repugnant to the constant intentions of the king and the law of God. If they rightly understood their own interests, instead of opposing their design, they would forward it; as it was the only way to prevent the total depopulation of a country, in which it was impossible for them to improve all its natural advantages, or even to subsist, without the assistance of the Indians in cultivating it. What was become of the thousands of Indians that had appeared since the first discovery of Paraguay? And what other cause could be assigned for so great a depopulation than the inhuman manner in which these poor people had been treated?

But the fathers soon discovered the vanity of attempting to convince the understanding in opposition to the will. Therefore, hastening their departure, they set out from *Cividad Real*, and went up the River *Paranapane*, as far as

as the mouth of the *Pirape*, where they met two hundred *Guarani* families that had already been baptised by two other fathers, their precursors, whom they brought together, and settled in a town to which they gave the name of *Loretto**.

THE fathers, after the formation of this town, made a progress of eighty leagues, in the course of which they found twenty-three small villages, where there were already several Christians, and where the reputation of the Jesuits, who were considered as the guardians of the Indians against slavery and oppression, to receive the Gospel. The fathers represented to them how much it was for their good, and how necessary for them to unite and dwell together in concord; as it was not possible for them, in a state of dispersion, either to defend their liberty, or to acquire instruction.

THESE representations had begun to operate on the minds of the Indians, when the missioners saw all their hopes on the point of being blasted by the avarice of a false bro-

* The general name usually given to the Christian towns, formed among the Infidels, and governed by regular priests, was *reductions*. Loretto was the first town in Paraguay to which this name was given.

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ther. An inhabitant of *Cividad Real*, a Spaniard, having offered to accompany them in this expedition, they thankfully accepted his offer, as they were not yet perfect masters of the Guarani language, which he understood thoroughly. The fathers could not help being surprised at his never returning to their common cabin without wanting some article or other of his little baggage, and even of his clothes. But they said nothing, till one day, on his returning with nothing on but a pair of drawers, they could no longer refrain from asking him how he came to be stript in that manner. His answer was, "You preach one way, fathers, and I another. You possess the gift of eloquence, with which it has not pleased God to endow me; but I endeavour to supply the want of this by my works. I have distributed every thing I brought with me among the principal Indians of the country, from a persuasion, that when I should have gained the heads by my liberality, it would be the easier for you to bring over the rest; and I believe the work of conversion to be already in great forwardness."

THE fathers made no doubt but what he said was true; and began to feel a degree of regret, that they were disabled, by their poverty, from following his charitable example.

Some

Some time after this the Spaniard said to them, that as they were now sufficiently acquainted with the Guarani language, he wished they would give him leave to return home; which they did, with many thanks for his zealous and disinterested services. He had not long left them when they discovered, that he had given the things he parted with in exchange for women and children, with whom he was now on the wing to set out to the Spanish settlements. It was impossible but the conduct of this man should create some suspicion among the Indians, that the fathers connived at, and perhaps had a share in the profits of this infamous commerce. The suspicions of those poor people were, however, though not without pains and time, removed; and most of them repaired to the new *reduction* of Loretto.

This town was soon filled with so many people, and so many still flocked to it from the interior, that the fathers were afraid lest it should become too populous; small communities or bodies of men being more susceptible of order and regularity than large ones. In these circumstances, a Cazique, called *Acaya*, made a proposal to the inhabitants of forming another about four or five miles farther up the country, which was cheerfully adopted. This second reduc-

tion was called *Saint Ignatius*. It was soon found necessary, for the reception of proselytes, to form two more; and the population in all the four was so rapid, that the two Jesuits immediately conceived the design of forming, in the heart of this savage country, a Christian republic, that might revive the happy days of primitive and pure Christianity.

Success of the Jesuits in civilizing and making Christians of the wild Indians.

THE fathers did not think it prudent to proceed in the execution of this great and good, but novel project, without the fullest and most decided, and express approbation and support of the Spanish government. They clearly set forth the nature and object of their design, by letters, which were carried by some of their own order to the council of the Indies, and to the king himself; in which they cleared up any doubts that might be entertained, and obviated any objections that might be made against it. For they were well aware of the jealousy, already noticed, of the *Encomienderos*; and also, that not a few individuals of the other mendicant orders, from a spirit of division, rivality, and animosity against the Jesuits, who were the most zealous protectors of the Indians, had represented the *repartimientos*, or distribution of Indians with certain tracts of land, in the

Gives rise to the design of forming a Christian republic.

capacity

capacity of *Villani adscripti glebæ*, serfs attached to the soil, as a matter indispensibly necessary for the very existence of Spanish colonies in America. Neither had the secular clergy any good-will to the Jesuits, whose superior zeal, activity, and success, arraigned the indolence of too many of the seculars, not to say their vices, and, by gaining the hearts and confidence of men, diminished their influence and authority.

With the pious, gentle, and humane character of the king, they were well acquainted; but his good intentions towards the poor Indians had been frustrated on different occasions, one of which may be stated as an instance, and as a useful example too, of the difficulty of reform, and danger of innovation.—An order was transmitted by Philip III. A. D. 1603, to the *Condé de Monterey*, viceroy of New Spain, to abolish the *repartimientos*, or personal services; and that the Indians should be hired, and paid for their labour as labourers were in Europe. Accordingly, the Indians fit for labour were obliged to assemble at stated times, to be hired by the Spaniards. The places where they were convened in Mexico, were, the squares of *San Juan* and *San Jago*. The viceroy, who attended those fairs, was the Judge whether the

the hire offered to the Indian was a fair one; and whatever it was, he was obliged to accept it.

THE viceroy was not accused of leaning too much to the side of the Spaniards; but the Indians deemed it a grievous hardship to be reduced to constant as well as hard labour, on any terms. This hiring of Indians became a kind of traffic. A proprietor of land would engage more Indians in his service than he had occasion for, and transfer them for a certain profit, on what he had given or agreed to give, to a third person. The result of all this was, that the Indians finding themselves more harassed, and oppressed then ever, petitioned to be restored to the former condition of labouring for a stated time in their turn: that is, so many at a time out of an hundred *. The Jesuits therefore were extremely solicitous to counteract all prejudices, misconceptions, and misrepresentations that might tend to nip their young commonwealth in the bud. And they were as anxious to gain and secure the bishop and the governor of Paraguay in their interest, as they were to obtain the countenance, and firm protection of the king and the council of

* Monarquia Indiana, por Torquemada, lib. v. cap. lix.

the

the Indies. They stated, both through individuals of their own order, and in written memorials, to the Spanish government, both in Peru and Old Spain, that after the greatest and most persevering pains, they had discovered the two principal causes that not only obstructed the farther propagation of the gospel, but had in a great measure obliterated the traces of former conversions. The first of these causes was, that the Spaniards rendered the Christian religion odious to the natives of the country by the manner in which they treated even those who had sincerely embraced it. That while the ministers of religion were employed in teaching, and inculcating the purity of life enjoined in the gospel, not a few of those who openly professed Christianity were so far from following its maxims, that they brought discredit and disgrace upon it by the licentiousness of their lives, and the most flagrant acts of injustice. Hence they concluded, that before they should undertake to penetrate into unknown regions, and convert and instruct the Indians in the Christian faith, it was absolutely necessary that they should be endowed with full power to secure their converts, both from the oppression, and the contagious example of the old Christians.—In order to remove the suspicions that were entertained, by the Spanish

Spanish Colonists of their design, they solemnly declared, that it by no means extended to the Indians already *reduced*, that is, brought to some knowledge and a profession of Christianity, and submission to King and Government of Spain; but only to those that had not yet been *reduced*, or to those who, having been reduced, had renounced their obedience to the Spaniards, and by fleeing to remote and inaccessible regions, had wholly escaped from their authority. In addition to this they undertook that their Indian converts should acknowledge his Catholic majesty for their sovereign, and give an unlimited obedience, which, they observed, was a surer, a more humane, and in every respect a more advantageous mode of making conquest than that of arms.

Political establishment of the Jesuits in Paraguay.

PHILIP III. perfectly concurred with the sentiments of the Jesuits. The arrangements they proposed were adopted and established by decrees *, which all the monarchs of Spain,

* This sketch of the maxims, customs, progress, and political establishment of the Jesuits in Paraguay, is given chiefly on the authority of three eminent associates of that order. *Charlevoix*, in his Histoire de Paraguay, &c.; *D'Orgglie*, in his Historica Relacione del Regno de Chili; and *Gumilla*, in his Historia, Natural, Civil, y Geografica, D'Oronoco.

down to the late King Charles III. confirmed.

The Christian religion persecuted in Japan.

WHILE the affairs of Spain flourished in Paraguay, and some other parts of America, through the preaching of the gospel, the Catholic religion was cruelly persecuted in Japan, and the interests of Spain in that extensive, powerful, and civilized empire, supplanted by those of her revolted provinces. It was about this time that the dreadful persecution of thirty years commenced; a persecution not terminated but by a most horrid and bloody massacre, not to be paralleled in the annals of civil or of ecclesiastical history.

THE emperor of Japan was an absolute monarch, but all the great districts in the different islands of which the empire was composed, were under the immediate though subordinate jurisdiction of petty kings: a circumstance which secured the first introduction of Christianity into Japan, by the great apostle of India, Francis Xavier, who sometimes found favour in the sight of one king for no other reason than that he was rejected by another. The Japanese, with the exception of a few professed atheists, were idolators, and, agreeably to the doctrine of Pythagoras, which at one period seems to have pervaded the whole known world, believed

believed in the transmigration of souls. Some of them adored the sun and moon, and the gods of China; and some of them worshipped the devil, or great spirit of evil, under the most hideous and the most ridiculous figures. There was an incredible number of temples erected in honour of their principal gods, which were *Amida* and *Xaca*. The votaries of those two deities would sometimes throw themselves headlong from rocks, or bury themselves alive in the caves of the earth. And banks were now and then to be seen full of men and women with stones hanging from their necks, who, after singing praises to their gods, cast themselves into the sea. The first preaching of Xavier before congregations consisting of such hearers was not attended with success. The mysteries of the Christian religion appeared shocking to them, and he was openly derided, and treated as a visionary and a madman; although the king of *Satzuma*, in whose territory his apostolical labours in the empire of Japan commenced, received and treated him with kindness. Some, however, were induced to renounce idolatry and to suffer themselves to be baptized. But the Bonzes, who lived on the offerings presented to their gods, went in a body to the king, and represented to him that he could not, without great impiety, suffer three

miserable strangers, (Xavier, and the two companions of his order who accompanied him) to destroy the altars of the tutelary Deities of the country, and erect new ones to a being who would not permit any one to be worshipped but himself. The king of Satzuma, moved by these remonstrances, forbad any of his subjects, on the pain of death, to become Christians, or to abandon the established religion of their country. Xavier now retired into the dominions of the king of Firando, by whom, being at enmity with the king of Satzuma, he was very well received. And the three Portugueze Bonzes were allowed to publish their law throughout his whole kingdom. Xavier leaving the care of Firando to one of his companions, accompanied with two Japanese converts, set out on October 1550 for Meaco, the capital of the empire; as the spiritual conquest of this place seemed to promise that of the whole country. In his way to this capital he stopped at *Amanguchi*, the capital of the kingdom of *Nanguto*, one of the richest cities of Japan, and distant from Firando about 300 miles. But all the fruit of his preaching at the capital of *Nanguto*, was, to be considered by the natives as a man beside himself. He therefore pursued his journey, amidst the rigours of winter, to *Meaco*, whither, after an incredible

number

number and variety of hardships, he arrived in the month of February, 1551. Here he endeavoured to obtain an audience of the supreme pontiff of the Japanese religion; but not being able to obtain it, he began to preach in public, without any permission. The people despised him so much that they would not even condescend to hear him. So that having made every attempt to make converts, for the space of fifteen days, without success, he returned to Amanguchi. Here he obtained an introduction to the king of Nanguto, by a present of some European curiosities, which he had the precaution to bring from Firando, through which he passed in his return thither from Meaco. With these the king was so much charmed, that he permitted Xavier to preach the Christian religion, and gave leave to his subjects to embrace it. The respect shewn to Xavier by the king was immediately followed by that of the people. Five hundred persons were baptized in less than two months. The Bonzes were again alarmed. They had recourse to their usual arts, and the friendship of the prince for Xavier was turned into hatred. Yet, notwithstanding this change in the disposition of the king, and the severity with which those were treated who submitted themselves to the rite of baptism, the number of converts encreased to more than three

thousand. Still, however, the great body of the Japanese nation remained in idolatry. Being an ingenious and curious people, they were not insensible to the reasoning and fervent eloquence of Xavier, but they declared that they would not change their religion, till the Chinese, whom they considered as their masters in the arts and sciences, had given them the example. Wherefore Xavier resolved to go and make a spiritual conquest of that great nation. With this intent he left the kingdom of Japan, after sojourning in it for two years and four months: but having the care of all the churches in Asia in his mind and heart, he determined, before he should go to China, to visit the Christian brethren in India, both on this and the other side of the Ganges. — This being accomplished he took his departure for China, but died on the passage in 1552.

The companions of the order of Xavier, though certainly not superior either in courage or zeal, appear to have had a greater share of worldly wisdom and address; for, after his death, there was less opposition to the gospel than before. The Jesuits, who were permitted to preach publicly, having converted a very great number of the Japanese to the Catholic faith, at length made conquests of the kings of

of *Burgo* and *Arima*, whom they persuaded to send an embassy of obedience to pope Gregory XIII. This embassy arrived at Rome in the year 1585, and was received with much pomp and solemnity. The letters presented by the ambassadors to his holiness were inscribed, "To him who holds the place of God upon earth."

THE progress of Christianity in Japan was so great, that the emperor, disquieted by the number of Christians within his dominions, amounting, it is said, to two hundred thousand, in the year 1586, forbade his subjects to embrace it under pain of death; and, in six years thereafter, he suppressed all the Christian churches. But the Jesuits continued their apostolical labours, notwithstanding this prohibition, by which they were subjected to a persecution more and more severe and cruel, till at length the Portuguese and Spaniards were expelled from Japan, and a general massacre A. D. 1638, put an end to Christianity in that empire*.

IT seems astonishing how much the cause of Christianity was promoted, instead of being

* La Vie du St. Francis Xavier—Tavernier, Relacion de la Cause de la Persecution des Chretiens dans le Japan.

subdued, by the death of one martyr after another. This was found, indeed, to be the seed of the church, as long as Christianity was suffered to vegetate at all, in any degree, and until not one sower was left in the empire.

THE cruelties practised on the Christians, by the government of Japan, are represented by Tavernier, and all other writers, as altogether unheard of before; and the constancy of the Japanese sufferers, under lingering and studied torments, on the other hand, as being equally extraordinary. The fact is not to be doubted, yet it appears equally certain, that this cruelty was not of the same nature with the bigotted inhumanity of such monsters as Philip II. who indulged the greatest inveteracy of rancour against heretics, and were persuaded that by destroying them they performed an acceptable service to the Common Creator.

THE increasing cruelty of the Japanese government did not arise from any religious abhorrence or antipathy, but from the still increasing fortitude, which they called obstinacy and rebellion, on the part of the Christians. Every attempt was at first made to engage the Christian convert to return to the altars of his forefathers.

forefathers. He was entreated and conjured to renounce the religion of the strangers by all that was fitted to operate on the social and tender feelings of man, as well as on his natural love of life. Year was consumed after year, with the permission of government, in such entreaties, and when they were at last found to be in vain, the punishment inflicted was not, in every instance, death, but confiscation of property or exile. Neither did the officers of justice perform their melancholy functions in a brutal and unfeeling manner, but with reluctant, tender, and compassionate delay. Sympathy with the sufferer sometimes so overcame their hearts, and unstrung their nerves, that it was not without repeated efforts that they were able to carry the orders of government into execution.

Among the Japanese converts to Christianity, A. D. 1608, who preferred the crown of martyrdom to honour in this world, affluence, and life, was *Leon*, a native of the kingdom of Satzuma, of honourable descent, and an officer of distinction in the army. All the solicitations of his friends, servants, and acquaintance, continued for a long time, could not induce him to renounce the faith, and accept, even after the sentence of death was pronounced, the mercy of government. To their

their own importunities they joined, at last, those of his wife, who had embraced Christianity about a month before his condemnation, but forsaken it at the approach of death, and two young sons. They went all in a body to the place of his confinement, which was in his own house, and with many tears conjured him to have mercy on himself and on them. His reply was, an earnest exhortation to embrace and stand fast in the Christian faith. The next night he spent in conversation with a minister of religion, and in prayer; and he received the sacrament of the communion.

When a soldier is condemned to die in Japan, and the sentence of death about to be executed, he is not bound in fetters or cords, nor even stripped of his arms, as in Europe. Two or three or more armed soldiers are sent to attack him, as if he were an enemy in a field of battle. And sometimes the criminal sells his own life very dear, by wounding and even killing one or other of the assailants. One of the three soldiers sent to execute the sentence of the law on *Leon*, went into his apartment to see what was going on, leaving the other two at the door. When it was found that he had not assumed a posture of self-defence, but was perfectly resigned to his fate,

fate, the other two soldiers also went in; and all the three endeavoured to persuade him to die by his own hands, in cutting his own throat, rather than by another hand, which did not become so gallant and distinguished a soldier; and in this request they were joined by such of his friends and servants as were present. To this he replied, that suicide was not permitted by the Christian religion, which he again recommended to them in the most fervent manner.

It is the barbarous custom of Japan, when a person is condemned to die for any crime against the state or government, to condemn his sons also to the same punishment. The sons of Leon had accordingly been condemned to suffer death; but, in consideration of their father's services to the state, been pardoned. They both, at this awful crisis, stood by the side of their father. Leon, addressing himself to the eldest, said, "My son, you have arrived at the years of discretion; listen to the instructions, and live like the Christians; and if you desire at last to come to the place whither I am going, become a Christian." And as to the youngest, who was a mere child, he said, that it would give him great joy if he were to be received into the religious house, and become a servant to the Dominican

Dominican friars. It is necessary to be observed, that amidst the heat of the persecutions, which generally lasted about three or four months at a time, there were a few particular churches that were sometimes, if not absolutely, licensed, yet connived at. The day, by this time, being far spent, the soldiers spoke to his wife, and requested that she would prepare for partaking, according to the custom of Japan, of a parting meal with her husband; who, overhearing the soldiers, said, that it was not the will of God that, after his communion in the Lord's Supper last night, he should partake in any other supper in this world.

On the question being put to Leon, in what place he would choose to die, he named a place where two streets cross each other, and which was called, in the Japanese tongue, *Jumonsi*, that is to say, a Cross. To this place he walked on foot, wearing his arms, carrying in one hand a rosary, and in the other a crucifix. An immense multitude had assembled to witness the death of this martyr. After they arrived at the place appointed, a soldier, drawing his scimitar, prepared for execution. The sufferer requested the soldier to allow him a respite of half an hour for prayer; which the man, putting

putting his sword again in its sheath, readily granted. Some time after this had elapsed, the soldier asked the martyr if the time was now come? To which he answered, yes; at the same instant stretching out his neck to the executioner. His head was severed from his body, but not without two strokes, a thing very unusual in Japan; where the soldiers, particularly such as are selected for the purpose of decollation, are remarkably dextrous in the use of the sabre; but the poor man was greatly discomposed at the sad office he was obliged to perform *.

In the same year there were other very interesting and remarkable martyrdoms, on which occasions the natural sensibility of the Japanese nation was displayed, in the kingdom of *Fingo*. Two converts, who at baptism had received the names of *Joachim* and *Michael*, after a close and harsh imprisonment of three years, during all which time they had repeated offers of liberty, on the condition of their abjuring the faith, were led forth to the place of execution, with their two sons, also condemned to death, though one of them was only six years of age. This child had been taught such doctrines of religion as he

* Torquemada, Monarquia Indiana, lib. v. cap. lxxi.

could

could comprehend, by his father; but in conformity to the inhuman law of Japan, above noticed, he was sentenced to die as well as his father. This law was not always, or even very often, put in force; but it would appear that his father's long perseverance, under the hardships of a prison and the menaces of death, had been considered as the most obdurate refractoriness, and an insolent defiance of the authority of government. The child, persuaded that his soul would immediately mount up, together with that of his father, into heaven, met the approach of death with the utmost resignation and composure. He kneeled down, and, leaning on the ground with his little hands, in that attitude waited the stroke of the executioner. Innocence and virtue, in such distress, touches the most obdurate and callous heart. The public executioner of Athens shed tears when the time drew nigh when he was to administer the poisoned cup to Socrates. The hearts of the spectators of the scene in Fingo melted within them. The soldiers appointed for beheading little *Lirinus*, that was the name of the child, were all in a tremor. Their hands shook, and refused to draw their scimitars from their scabbards. The officer of justice, answering to our sheriff, completely in unison with the poor soldiers, did

did not reprimand or threaten them. He cast about for an executioner of a less susceptible heart, and found one in a trader from the Chinese peninsula of *Korea**.

THERE were instances of men in places of great power and trust, who made no scruple to declare their conviction, that the Christian law was the most humane and pure of any that they were acquainted with, and that they would have readily embraced and professed Christianity, if they had not been loath to lose the emoluments of their offices. These men, in making out a list of Japanese who had turned Christians, would sometimes omit a congregation or district that was not much known or heard of by the king, whom it was his duty to obey and serve. In these cases, such was the enthusiasm and zeal of some Neophytes, that they would complain of the omission, and declare their readiness to seal their faith with their blood †.

BUT, as a sad counterpoise to a disposition in some men of rank to think well of Christianity, there was a general notion amongst them, that men of birth and distinction, who

* Torquemada, Monarquia Indiana, lib. v. cap. lxxiii.

† Ibid.

were

were officers of the army, would be disgraced by Christianity. It was a religion, they said, unbecoming a soldier and a gentleman *. There was besides this, and the interested zeal and interference of the idolatrous priests, yet a third obstruction, and that a very powerful one to the progress and final establishment of the Catholic religion in Japan, namely, the suspicion, which was certainly fomented, if not originally excited by the Dutch, that the ministers of that religion, and above all the Jesuits, aimed at nothing less than, by laying hold of the affections and confidence of all ranks of people, to subvert the fundamental laws as well as the religion of the Japanese empire. This surmise derived a degree of credit from the circumstance that the missionaries, when they were invited or permitted to go to the court of any king, affected great pomp and magnificence, in order, as they thought, that the Japanese might entertain the higher ideas of the Christians, and thence be induced the more readily to embrace their religion. It was in such a manner that the great St. Xavier himself, though contrary to his own judgment, was persuaded by the brethren who accompanied him, to make his appearance at the court of

* Torquemada, Monarquia Indiana, lib. v. cap. lxxi.

Bungo.

*Bungo**. The Dutch, at the same time that they expatiated on the lofty spirit and invidious policy of the Spaniards, presented to the emperor a map of the world, and, having shewn him how far the kings of Spain and Portugal had pursued their conquests, on one side to the Manillas, and on the other to Macao, pointed out to him how easy it would be for them to make themselves masters of Japan†.—It was in the same manner, and with the same effect that Lord Macartney, in his pompous and foolish embassy to China, A. D. 1793, in most things, particularly in a jealousy of strangers, bearing so near an affinity to Japan, boasted of the power and greatness of the king of Great Britain, especially in India.

In this strain of pomp and ostentation an ambassador was sent to the court of Japan, A. D. 1611, by the Spanish government at Manilla. He demanded permission to construct ships, take soundings of all the coasts and harbours, the interdiction of all commerce with the rebellious Hollanders, but a commercial intercourse with the Portugueze and Spaniards, perfectly unfettered by customs or imposts, and even all visits of revenue officers. Nearly at the same time an ambassador from the United States made his ap-

* Vie du St. Francis Xavier. † Ibid.

 pearance,

pearance, in a spirit and tone altogether different. He humbly requested:—1. Passports for the Dutch trading vessels sailing to Japan, that they might thus be under the protection of the Emperor. 2. Permission to land their cargoes for the inspection of the merchants, with the exception of the most precious articles, which were to be set apart as presents for the emperor and the court. These propositions were readily agreed to, and the Dutch ambassador was treated with all possible respect and honour; which was a matter of great chagrin to the Spaniards who witnessed it. The protestants, and particularly the calvinists or presbyterians, were excepted from the general persecution of the Christians; and the missioners, the Portugueze, the Spaniards, and all Roman Catholics, were exterminated, and forbidden to set their foot on any of the territories of Japan, under the pain of death*.

* Histoire de la Republique des provinces-unies des pais bas, depuis lon establissement jusques á la mort de Guillaume III. Roi de la Grande Bretagne. A la Haye 1704.

APPENDIX. (*A.*)

(VOL. I. PAGE 166.)

A Journal of the Conferences betwixt his Majesty's Commissioners, and the Commissioners of the King of Spain, and Arch-Dukes of Austria, Dukes of Burgundy, &c. at the treating and concluding of a Peace with the aforesaid Princes at Somerset-House in London, Anno 1604.

SUNDAY, the 2d of this instant, the earl of Dorset, lord high treasurer, the earl of Nottingham, lord high admiral, the earls of Devonshire and Northampton, and the lord Cecil, principal secretary, being appointed commissioners by his majesty to treat with Don Juan de Taxis Conte de Villa Mediana, the Spanish ambassador, and signior Alexander de Rouida, the senator of Milan, commissioners, authorising on the behalf of the king of Spain; and the count of Aremberg, the president Richardot, and the audiencer Verriken authorised in the like manner on the behalf of May, 1604.

the archdukes of Austria, Burgundy, &c. to treat about the making and concluding of a firm peace and amity betwixt his majesty's kingdom and subjects and the aforesaid princes' subjects and dominions, their lordships repaired to Somerset-house, the lodging of the said Spanish ambassador, and there, with the rest of the other commissioners, entered into a common conference concerning the said business.

A FAIR great chamber, heretofore used for the council-chamber in the said house, was expressly prepared by his majesty for the said meeting; and it was thought fit to give the said commissioners the place of the right hand at the table, in respect of the great honour done to his majesty in sending of the said commissioners to treat here within this realm.

THE said commissioners being placed together on the right hand of the table, and their lordships on the left hand in the same manner, the earl of Northampton in a speech in the Latin language, fraught according to the manner of the times, with many quotations and allusions to the sacred scriptures, and the Grecian and Roman literature, among other things, congratulated his audience on the prospect of peace; set forth the pacific dispositions as well as prosperous fortune of his Britannic

Britannic majesty; expatiated on the duty of sacrificing all passions, whether of individuals, or of the times, to the general good of mankind; mentioned several circumstances which ought naturally to conciliate peace and good will between the king of Spain, and the princes of the house of Burgundy on the one part, and the king of Great Britain and Ireland on the other; and expressed, in conclusion, his ardent wishes and hopes, that not only would a good correspondence be established between those princes, of which he did not entertain any doubts, but that all grounds of animosity, jealousies, and contention would be removed from the breasts of their respective subjects.

After the earl of Northampton had ended his speech, the senator of Milan made also a speech in Latin at greater length, and more religious, learned, and elaborate than that of Northampton. In this speech, among other particulars, he reminds the commissioners of the marked proofs of sincere congratulation which his master the king of Spain, had given to his Britannic majesty, on his accession to the crowns of Scotland, England, and Ireland, and of the professions of friendship and amity, which on that occasion his most serene highness the king of Great Britain had made to his most Catholic majesty. The mutual professions of good will which then took place be-

tween those princes seemed to the senator of Milan to resemble that "rushing of a mighty wind," which preceded the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles, and therefore he exhorts them to banish from their councils all passions and prejudices of every kind, animadverts severely and fully on certain denominations, and classes or kinds of men*, who would endeavour all that was in their power to obstruct the present negociation for peace; calls to mind the ancient habits and bands of friendship which had subsisted between the kings of Great Britain and the princes of the house of Austria; bestows the highest praises on king James on account of his pacific disposition; expresses the utmost satisfaction and joy at the general appearance of a pacific disposition throughout Europe; exhorts all the European princes to peace among themselves, and animates them to a common resistance of the Turks, the common enemy of Christendom. He prays for a return of peace and commerce with all their blessings; he promises his utmost endeavours for effectuating so desirable an object, and appeals to God for the sincerity of his declarations.

THE president Richardot made a short declaration in French, to the like effect, of the

* Hominum Genera.

affectionate

affectionate desire of his princes to continue and maintain the good amity which had been ever between his majesty and them; and that to that end, and not to fail in the performance of any kind and loving office towards his majesty, the said princes his masters sent to congratulate his majesty's coming to the crown. So because it hath heretofore fallen out, either in respect of the unhappiness of the former times, or by God's just judgment for our sins, or by other occasion, that there have reigned great dissentions between the kings of England, and the princes of the Low Countries, now possessed by the said princes, which heretofore could not be determined, their desire was both for the assurance of the public quiet of Christendom, which hath received no small interruption by those differences, and to renew the ancient amity and friendship which hath been ever carefully cherished between this state and the said provinces, to conclude such a firm peace and solid amity between his majesty and the said princes as might be for the common utility of both their states, which they hoped would accordingly succeed to the effect desired by them, out of the trial which they have always made of his majesty's princely and Christian inclination to so good a work; and out of the same assurance for the like respects of inte-

rest, they had solicited the king of Spain to join in common treaty with them, which he prayed God to bless with a happy and fruitful success.

THE several speeches being made and ended, it was signified by the lord Cecil that their next proceeding ought to be, according to their use and order, to exhibit their several commissions to each other's considerations. Whereupon the same was accordingly done of all parties, and the Spanish ambassador did first read the immediate commission which was granted by the king of Spain to the constable of Castille, whereby not only absolute power was given to himself to treat and conclude a peace, but also a farther authority (as they did enforce) by the words, *tratar y hazer tratar*, to constitute and sub-delegate other commissioners, according to the power whereof they declared that the said constable had sub-delegated, by another special commission from himself which was also shewed and read, The said Spanish ambassador, and signior Alexander Rouida to be in his absence commissioners for the king of Spain, to proceed in the said treaty; and furthermore, the said ambassador produced a letter written from the king of Spain unto himself, whereby he did nominate and appoint him to be a commissioner in the said treaty.

treaty. That being done, the lord treasurer proceeded in the reading of his majesty's commission; and afterwards the count Aremberg did in the like manner read the commission of the archduke and the Infanta, and copies were delivered interchangeably to each other, of all their commissions.

THEIR lordships, conceiving to have cause to note some defects in the Spanish commissions, as well in that it appeared by the same, that they were to treat with sub-delegates, whose authority was derived from the power of the constable's commission, as also for that it seemed to them, that the words *tratar y hazer tratar*, were something weak to authorise the said constable to sub-delegate other commissioners under him: their lordships did therefore think fit to withdraw themselves to the lower end of the chamber, to advise of the objections that were necessary to be made to the said commissioners; and after some small time of conference among themselves thereupon, they returned to their former seats, and it was signified to them by the lord Cecil, that although their lordships could not deny, that they had cause to receive great contentment in the honourable and forward disposition which both the king of Spain and archdukes had shewed to effect the conclusion of a firm

firm peace and amity between his majesty and them, wherein his majesty was willing to answer them with the like correspondence on his part, yet notwithstanding that they hoped that it would not be displeasing unto the said commissioners, that their lordships, in careful discharge of their duty towards his majesty and the trust reposed in them, in a matter of so great weight and importance, did acquaint them with those things wherein their lordships in their judgment held themselves bound to be better satisfied, as being, first, derogatory to the king's honour, that themselves representing the quality which they did of principal councellor to the king's majesty, should be referred to treat only with commissioners sub-delegated by derived power of the constable of Castille, who, although he were to be acknowledged a person of good blood, and chief quality, yet that he was not to be considered for other than a subject of Spain.

And secondly, for that their lordships were doubtful whether the words of *hazer tratar*, were to receive the construction of giving power sufficient thereby to the constable to sub-delegate other commissioners; and that, although it were true, that the commissioners of France treated at Vervins with others authorised by the archduke; being a prince, made

made a difference therein: and moreover, that there was no other meaning at the first meeting of the said commissioners at Vervins, save only for the present to handle matters by way of conference and proposition, so as it was not taken so behovefull to insist upon the due formalities of an exact commission; and therefore, his lordship prayed the commissioners to give their lordships answer to the aforesaid objections, where their lordships conceived it to be very material and fit to be satisfied.

HEREUPON the Spanish and archdukes commissioners withdrew themselves to the lower end of the chamber, and after some conference among themselves, they returned to their former seats, and the senator of Milan, in the name of them all, delivered this answer, that it was far from the meaning of the king of Spain, by any proceedings of his in this matter, to cast any dishonour upon the king's majesty, but rather, that his intent appeared to be the contrary, by the choice which he had made of the person of the constable to be employed in this business, which he would accordingly have performed by his own presence, if he had not been prevented by his indisposition of body, the which necessity was the cause that he had made the said sub-delegation, being unwilling that a business of so great importance

tance should receive any delay; and that as the said constable intended to assist at the conclusion of the treaty, it would in part answer the other objection touching the insufficiency of the words *hazer tratar*, which in the Spanish tongue they held nevertheless to be strong enough to give authority to depute and subdelegate others, and that it was to be remembered, that the like exceptions being taken to the same words by the English commissioners at Boulogne, they were afterwards allowed for good and valid; that in the commission given to the archduke for the treaty of Vervins those words were clean omitted, and yet, notwithstanding, no exception taken, but the honour of the prince therein contracting trusted; but that any such doubts were chiefly satisfied, in that the treaties which were made were afterwards to receive their strength and virtue by the confirmation of the princes.

THEIR lordships said they would acquaint the king with the objections made by them, and the answers made to the same, and therein receive his majesty's resolution, without the which they durst not further to proceed for the present in a matter of so great weight, and so took leave of them for that time.

ON Tuesday the 22d of this instant, their lordships

lordships repaired again to the said commissioners at the place of their former meeting, and it was then declared unto them by the lord Cecil that their lordships had acquainted the king's majesty with the doubt moved by them upon the view and consideration of the Spanish commission, and with the answers made to the objections, and that thereupon it had pleased his majesty to give them directions to signify unto them, that though his majesty was resolved to be ever truely sensible of any thing that might concern him in honour, yet that out of the reality of his mind he chose to prefer substance before circumstances, and therefore was not willing to insist upon other formalities with them, than only to note unto them, that the manner of their commission did give cause to those which desired not the perfecting and countenance of this amity, to disgrace the proceeding therein, for that it was requisite, that, according to the ordinary use, more persons than one should have been joined in the original commission to supply the absence of any one in case of sickness or otherwise, and especially that the omitting to join the Spanish ambassador in the said commission, shewed that the order for the foresaid sub-delegation was rather out of purpose disesteeming than by accident; and although it was sought to be coloured with the authority of a special letter written by the king of Spain to him, by the

the which he was appointed to be a commissioner in the said business, yet that the same doth far differ from the necessary form of a due and powerful commission so as his majesty might he justly moved to appoint commissioners to treat by a like answerable power of sub-delegation: nevertheless because his majesty found that there was no want of authority to treat in the original commission, or reason to doubt of the constable's speedy coming to supply the defect of the said sub-delegation, he was willing to hold the powers of the commissioners to treat for valid. The Spanish commissioners, after having had some conference among themselves, made answer by the mouth of the senator of Milan,

THAT they were glad to find, by this real proceeding of the king with them, a confirmation of that noble disposition in confidence whereof their princes had been induced and encouraged to enter into this treaty with him, for the which they did acknowledge both in their masters and in their own name, all thankfulness unto his majesty, and particularly also unto their lordships for being a means to reconcile the difference in question, protesting that there was no meaning to proceed otherwise than with like sincerity and integrity also on their part, as they hoped to receive the like measures from their lordships.

HEREUPON

HEREUPON it was agreed to proceed to the handling and debating of the point of the treaty, and it was moved by the earl of Northampton that they should begin to make the first propositions of their part, whereunto they assented; and it was signified by the senator of Milan, that the king of Spain did, at the coming of the king's majesty to this crown, lay open the affection of his heart unto him by sending to congratulate with him and to desire the establishing of a sincere and intrinsical friendship with him.

AND because of the chance of times between his state and the kingdoms of England and Scotland, the said king desired for his part that the friendship of the said kingdoms might be now so straitly conjoined, as that there might be made a league offensive and defensive between the said princes, to be friend to each others friends and enemy to their enemy.

THE lord Cecil yielded them thanks for the great good will and affection which by their offer they expressed unto his majesty; but gave them to understand that it could no ways agree with the present state of his majesty's affairs to make such league with them at this time as was proposed by them, as well in respect that his majesty should thereby declare and engage himself

himself against those of his own profession of religion, as also for that he should therein violate his amity with France which already did stand between them upon condition of a league offensive and defensive: therefore, that the said proposition would be more proper for some other time hereafter, and for the present that it would be best to advise to establish a firm amity for the assuring of the liberty of trade and free intercourse between the kingdoms and states.

It was hereupon answered by the senator for Milan, that the king of Spain was moved to tender the aforesaid offer unto the king, out of the affection which had been before declared, and to witness unto him that he would prefer his amity before all others, but if it should be thought inconvenient, for any difficulty, to proceed in those terms of condition, that they would forbear further, to urge the same in that manner: but because they would be glad to make a peace that should extend further than to the effect of an intercourse, they desired their lordships to open themselves what kind of peace the king would make to the princes their masters. The president Richardot used a speech to the like effect on the behalf of the archduke.

THE lord Cecil made answer, that they did all agree in the acknowledgement of the mutual and real affection of their masters, for the which he did the more hope that God would bless their work; that their lordships did conceive that it did stand with good order first to conclude and establish a general amity between kingdoms and states whereof the effects are afterwards to ensue, and that in the perusing and digesting of the small points of the treaty, the matters of priviledges and customs and other necessary provisions which might be thought fit to be spoken of as they should fall out, would be best handled in their order and course.

THE senator of Milan answered, that it was far from their meaning to except against any thing which had been formerly spoken of, and that it was not otherwise meant to press the order for making of a league offensive and defensive, than as should stand with the king's own good liking, and not to be prejudicial to other princes and states; but he prayed their lordships again to explain themselves what kind of peace the king should make with their princes, their several natures being reduced under those three divisions, either to make a general league offensive and defensive, or else a particular league defensive *sine offensione*,

fensione, which should bind to assist each other in case of being invaded by a third person, or lastly to make a peace of firm amity and friendship with condition not to attempt any thing to the other's prejudice and wrong.

THE lord Cecil answered again, that their progressions had been hitherto to good purpose in that they had declared themselves thus freely to each other, and cleared the doubt of their commission, and that their lordships would be as willing also to give them resolution in this matter of their propositions; because they desired, for the avoiding of misunderstanding, to be clearly instructed of the king's purpose therein, whom it was fit, his majesty being so near at hand, to acquaint with a matter of so great importance and weight, their lordships prayed them to give them time to receive his majesty's resolutions upon that point; and that their lordships would return to them again to proceed in the business as soon as the affairs of the parliament, which they were also necessarily to attend, would give them leave: with the which answer they rested satisfied, and so they took leave of each other for that time.

FRIDAY the 25th their lordships repaired again to the said commissioners in the afternoon, and the lord Cecil then first declared unto

unto them that their lordships had acquainted his majesty with the point, whereupon they paused at their last meeting, and whereupon they thought fit to receive resolution from his majesty's own judgement, and that now they were come to make known his majesty's pleasure therein signified to them; wherein first their lordships held themselves bound to declare truely that which they found of his majesty's gracious and willing inclination to entertain good amity and sincere friendship with the king of Spain and the archduke; and touching the point of making a league offensive and defensive, that his majesty having understood from them the arguments which were made by their lordships, not only against the same, but also against the second proposition for a definitive league, his answer to both the said points shortly was, that there ought not to be used much argument to debate those things which were directly to be refused, for not being of condition which might receive satisfaction; that strict forms were necessary where doubt ought to be made of the parties disposition to observe the conventions; but as his majesty did not refuse the former proposed leagues for want of good affection, so the said former commissioners were to consider the integrity of his majesty's disposition, that was not willing to enter into a thing that could not yet be accomplished, as

his majesty desired, in respect of being otherwise ingaged of honour; and therefore, considering the present state of things, that it was fit to resort to the third point for making of a firm peace and amity; but because it would be a fruitless name if the particular conditions were not agreed upon, that it would be necessary first to enter into the consideration of the convenicncy of the conditions to be resolved on, and afterwards to frame the form thereof according to the use in cases of marriage, wherein first the articles of covenant are handled between the parents, by way of admission, upon presumption of a future liking to follow between parties whom it is sought to join in marriage. This he declared to be the effect of his majesty's answer to their propositions, with assurance of all kind and loving affection unto the princes their masters.

After the said commissioners had conferred sometime among themselves, the senator of Milan made answer in the name of them all, that the princes their master did hold themselves confident in the assurance of his Majesty's good will and love towards them, out of the proof which they had formerly made of the same, and being therefore desirous for the better confirming and strengthening of that amity, that the unkindness and difference which

which had formerly reigned between this state of England and the said princes might be now abolished; the said princes were moved to make the aforesaid proposition, either by the making of a league offensive and defensive, or only defensive; the first whereof was propounded of good will, and the second to shew that there could hardly be entire friendship between any but that they ought to be sensible of each others harm and wrong: but seeing neither of the said propositions could now be accepted, for the reasons which had been before alledged, they desired to reserve them to other times, and better occasion, and in the mean time to proceed to the making of a firm peace and amity in the third, whereof it had been before spoken; and because of the mention made of former treaties to be an impediment of the leagues before recited, he desired their lordships to declare themselves better, whether there were any incompatibility touching the peace to be made with the princes their masters, and any other treaties already made with the king, and to shew what those treaties were, and what peace the king would require; for that they knew not that the princes their masters were in difference with *any* other prince or state of Christendom, but only sought the confirming of their own, without any other ambitious

desiring. To the said propositions touching matters of treaties, the lord Cecil made answer, that though the king himself might, before the entrance into this kingdom that had in former times difference with others, and treaties thereupon made, he could not now conveniently do any thing that might be in prejudice thereof, whereby they might judge to what interest we stood still engaged of the time past.

THE senator of Milan desired their lordships to satisfy them more certainly, what kind of friendship the king would make with their princes for not offending each other, and not ministering help to their enemies, to the end there might be no scruple to hinder the peace, because *in generalibus non est scientia.*

THE Lord Cecil made answer, that as he did well perceive the force of this argument, so he was willing to give him satisfaction in things which should be reasonably urged; as namely, that there ought to be observances of kind friendship between the said princes, and not be offensive to each other; but for the expressing of further obligations and courtesies, in case of the falling out of any differences between either of them and a third prince, that it was not to be looked, that

that princes would otherwise intermeddle themselves in any such sort, than as they should be moved upon occasion of very good desert, but rather that they would be careful for the good of the state still to maintain their necessary interest of intercourse with any such other prince.

THE president Richardot said, that it was necessary that they should open themselves more clearly to each other, in order to come to an end of the business: that the example of other princes which had been before mentioned, was nothing pertinent to their case, because the princes their masters had amity with all the world, but only the rebellious subjects of Holland, whose protection it was desired that his majesty would quit, and the same was the point whereupon their princes desired to contract a peace with his majesty: that the archduke did only seek justly to reduce their lawful subjects to their due obedience, and howsoever those of Holland had hitherto forgotten themselves in their duty, that the archduke would be content to receive them upon any reasonable conditions, to the end to avoid the further prosecution of an unhappy war; and the said archduke would be very glad, that it would please his majesty to be judge and arbitrator in the

cause between them; or in case those of Holland should refuse to submit themselves to any conditions of reason, that he hoped his majesty would not think them worthy to be supported by this state; and he desired that it might be remembered, that the performance thereof was agreeable to the protestation made by the late queen to the world, not to undertake the protection of them longer than they might obtain conditions of reason.

THE senator of Milan made a speech to the like effect, of the difference that was to be made of the case of another lawful prince in war, and the conditions of rebels, who ought rather to be by all means disfavoured, than that an intercourse of trade should be entertained with them.

THE Lord Cecil made them answer, that he was drawn by their last speech to speak of the Hollanders wherein they plainly discovered their object and intent. That it was true, were it not for the distraction growing by their late occasion, there was no colour for any difference to be between the king and the princes their masters: he desired that he might not be pressed to dispute whether they were rebels or not; but that he would boldly affirm, that the contracts which were made by

by the deceased virtuous and pious princess, whose memory he was bound to honour, with them which called themselves by the name of the United Provinces, were done upon very just and good cause. He desired that they would proceed to agree to the peace that was to be made, and if they thought it not fit to take any other conclusions until they were first satisfied whether they would continue to trade with Holland or not; his lordship prayed to understand from the said commissioners, whether they held that point to be so essential as that the peace could not be proceeded on without receiving, first, a resolution therein, or otherwise to be accidental, that necessarily requireth to have a proposition made for it.

THE senator of Milan answered, that he must still insist upon the difference that was to be made of rebels, in regard of whom the said trade might be considered to be essential, or accidental, according to the greatness or smallness thereof.

THE lord Cecil answered, that during the time the king's majesty was only king of Scotland, he being in firm league and amity with the princes their masters, did nevertheless, use a continual course of trade with those of Holland,

land, as in the like manner France and Denmark, and all other states, had ever used, and that there was no reason he should do himself the wrong to undergo now a worse condition therein, than heretofore he had done, and others now did.

THE senator of Milan now answered, that we were to live by laws, and not by examples.

THAT it was true they were in peace with Scotland, when nevertheless Scotland used to trade with the Hollanders, and though they had reason to except against the same, yet because they held not the same trade to be great, they thought not fit to break their peace thereupon, which would have been of great inconvenience to them, that now it was not only a far greater trade by the union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland, but also the making of a new peace, wherein it was requisite to provide a remedy against inconveniences of the times past.

THE earl of Northampton answered to the several parts of the senator's speech; that though we were to be governed by laws, and not by examples, yet that examples were the means of interpreting the laws; that the king of Scotland did bring with his own person the privileges

privileges which he formerly enjoyed, and that good or evil was not to be measured by proportions, but to be esteemed by the justice or injustice thereof.

THE senator of Milan alledged, that it could not be denied but that trade was an assistance, and thereby repugnant to the treaties of amity, and in that respect the use thereof unlawful.

THE earl of Northampton answered him, that if it were not heretofore unjust for the king to use that liberty, being king of Scotland, then that there was no reason to except more against it now, that the king's majesty takes no other course therein than was used by the king of Spain himself, who was content to admit and entertain a trade with those which he called his rebellious subjects, which, as it might be alledged to be done chiefly for his own utility, and not for any respect done to them, so his majesty did profess only to regard therein only his own necessary interest.

THE lord Cecil added further, that it was good to let them plainly know that the trade with those provinces was of so great importance to us, that we could by no means spare the same; and moreover, that the king was

was no less tied by the weight of other considerations, not to renounce, the holding of further correspondence with them, in due care not to lose the great debt which they owed him, and the possession of the towns which he held among them, and therewith also not to make themselves desperate, to betake themselves unto other protection, which might be more dangerous both for Spain and England, and therefore, he told the said commissioners, that they were not to expect to receive satisfaction upon that point.

THE said commissioners answered, that they had respective meaning not to seek to restrain our trade to our prejudice; but only to bar their rebels from partaking also, by our means, of the fruit of our trade with their princes, for the prevention whereof that it was fit to advise how to limit our trade in due sort; and they prayed their lordships to propound some reasonable means for the same.

THE lord Cecil desired the said commissioners, that they would rather explain unto their lordships their desire therein; but because the time grew late, it was agreed to respite the further handling of that point unto their next meeting, and so they took leave of each other for that time.

THURSDAY,

THURSDAY, the 31st, their lordships repaired again unto the said commissioners, and first excused unto them their long absence, by the occasion of other important business, and then desired to proceed in the determining of the business last in communication between them, and to receive the said commissioners' answers therein.

THE senator of Milan answered, that the last speech was concerning matter of trade, wherein they were willing to conserve our former liberties unto us, so as their rebels might not be benefited by the use thereof; and therefore they desired their lordships to propose the means of a middle remedy unto them.

THE lord Cecil said, that their lordships being persons of honour, did not desire to *marchand* the point with them; but thought fit to let them know, that there was no possibility of yielding to restrain the trade of his majesty's subjects into Holland, and likewise of the Hollanders' trade unto his majesty's dominions, which he did not entertain for their sakes, but only for our own good; and, considering that all other princes take their liberty, that there was no reason to restrain the subject of his majesty, who, for the considera-

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tions which had been before expressed, was much more interested to maintain the same: and therefore he wished that there might be no farther argument upon that article, but to pass over upon some other.

THE president Richardot alledged, that their last treaty made with France, was strong in general terms, to restrain the French from ministering such help and assistance to their rebels as the use of trade did import, and like assurance had been since given for the revoking of their ambassador out of those ports; but howsoever, that the same had not been observed, it ought to justify the wrong that they had received therein.

THAT their intent was to be careful of our lawful interest, and they desired us to have the like consideration of theirs, and therefore prayed that their lordships would propose some reasonable way of remedy therein.

THE lord Cecil answered him, that it was yet unknown unto us, what benefit we should receive by the trade of Spain, but that we were assured that the trade of the Low Countries, was of greatest importance unto us; notwithstanding, to shew that their lordships were most willing to accommodate themselves

to

to reason, that their lordships would assent to prohibit the carriage of all materials of war to those of the United Provinces, upon pain of confiscation of the same commodities.

THE senator of Milan desired their lordships to explain themselves, whether their lordships understood thereby, that it should be also lawful for the subjects of England to carry the commodities of Spain into the Low Countries, and so likewise of the Low Countries into Spain, because their meaning was not to allow that favour unto the Hollanders, howsoever they might otherwise agree to approve our trade with them; neither also that it should be lawful for us to trade in their ships, and in any sort to colour the said Hollanders' goods.

THE lord Cecil said, that he found their reasons to be very allowable, in that they sought to impeach their enemy's good, and he hoped likewise, that they would acknowledge it to be as reasonable that we ought to seek to receive benefit by the peace, or otherwise, that it would be better for us to remain still in war, in respect of the fortunate purchases which we had made at sea. But because it was fit that their lordships should receive informations from the merchants concerning

cerning this point, before they did farther determine thereof, he desired that they would proceed to some other matter and leave that question to some other time, which was assented unto; the point of intercourse with Holland and Zealand being admitted in general, and the question referred to farther considerations, whether we ought to be restrained to vent the commodities of Holland and Zealand into Spain, and so likewise of Spain into the said Provinces: and it was desired by the said commissioners, because they had already made two propositions of their part, that their lordships would now express themselves concerning their demands.

THE lord Cecil said, that their lordships would be willing to give them satisfaction therein; and therefore, first, that he would begin with the complaint of the great wrong and grievous vexations, which were committed upon our merchants trading into Spain by the authority of the inquisition there, whereof he desired that they might from henceforth be discharged and cleared, and a free liberty of trade to be granted to his majesty's subjects in all the dominions of the king of Spain and the archduke.

THE senator of Milan answered, that they were

were to yield to any thing which was in the power of their commission in the favour of the trade of his majesty's subjects, but under that generality, that they could not promise other matters for the which they had no authority, namely, that they would promise and undertake for a liberty of trade to be granted in the king of Spain's dominions of Spain, Portugal, and Italy, and so likewise in the territories of the archduke; and concerning the inquisition, he alledged that it was to be held for a general ground, that the inquisition took no notice of any fault, but where there was a public scandal given, the which order the king would be careful to recommend to have duly observed according to that rule; and if they might receive informations from our merchants of the particulars of the grievances whereof they complained, that they would endeavour to procure them redress thereof.

The lord Cecil made answer, that their lordships would be glad to receive better satisfaction from them to the two points proposed by their lordships; because their lordships did conceive that there should have been a general admittance and permission of trade into all the dominions of the king of Spain; by nominating of some countries and

omitting of others, it seemed that there was a meaning to use a restriction therein, which did not answer to the condition of a general and reciprocal free trade, which ought to be granted between the princes: for the other point concerning the inquisition, that his majesty was not willing to exempt his subjects from punishment for any offences which they should commit by public scandal given by them; but there was no reason that they should be otherwise subject to the passionate censure of the inquisition, to be so strongly dealt with by them as ordinarily they had been, where the like severity was not practised in any part of Italy, nor in the proper dominions there of the king of Spain, where it was conceived that he had as great a power to exercise the authority of the inquisition; and therefore, if order were not taken therein, that his majesty should be forced to make the subjects of the king of Spain to undergo the like severity here.

THE senator of Milan answered, that for the matter of trade, they did not design for the better demonstration of the freedom of the intercourse in the king and archduke's dominions; but that now he would more particularly explain himself, that our subjects should have trade in any place of the king's dominions

nions where he admitted any other prince to have intercourse with him; and for the matter of the inquisition, that the king of Spain had as great authority to exercise the form of that law in his dominions in Italy as in Spain, but that it could not be dropped; that some judges might want discretion in their proceedings, for that princes might make judges, but could not give them discretion.

THE lord Cecil said, that concerning the answer made for the granting of such a liberty of trade unto his majesty's subjects as was allowed unto other princes, they were not acquainted with the interest of other princes, of whom some had more private considerations than others; but for us, which were of another constitution, that it was no way fit for us to be restrained in our trade, and that we expected liberty granted us, to trade to the Indies, and desired to know whether any just reason could be alledged for excluding us from them.

THE senator of Milan confessed, that their meaning was to restrain us from the trade of the Indies, which could not be imputed to be a wrong unto us, because it was never before granted us in any former treaties, never hitherto permitted by the king of Spain to any

of his own subjects, or nearest kindred, or so much as to any of his children, therefore he prayed to be excused, for that it was not in their power to give their lordships satisfaction in that matter.

THE lord Cecil answered, that the king was resolved to maintain all things which were necessarily belonging to a lawful trade, and he hoped they would not urge unreasonable restrictions upon him which had no example; that he desired trade with all the world, but so, as it might be also accompanied with liberty to distribute the said merchandize afterwards into any ports to the best behoof of the merchants; that they were content that any goods which should be taken belonging to the Hollanders, should be subject to confiscation, whereof it should not appear by good proof, that they properly had been before changed, and the right of the same to be since in any of his majesty's subjects to transport goods in any of the Hollanders' vessels upon the same penalties, but that other harder restrictions ought not to be imposed upon them. The earl of Northampton told the said commissioners farther, that he did conceive them to be so reasonable, as they would not impose other laws upon us than themselves would willingly admit in a case of their

their own like interest, there being no reason to hinder to vend that to his best commodity in any other place, which he had adventured to fetch home to his great hazard; besides, that his majesty should receive a notable prejudice therein in the state of his customs, for that there arises a far greater benefit to him by the transportation of commodities out of the realm.

THE senator answered, that they did not seek to impose laws upon us, but only to provide for their own security; that by our means the Hollanders might not enjoy those things which they did restrain from them; and considering that there might be found vent for the said commodities in other parts, as Poland, Denmark, Dantzick, &c. that ought not to be held unreasonable to be yielded unto.

THE earl of Northampton answered, first, that the generality of the words expressed not in this treaty only, but in those of former times, gave a more free scope and freedom of access to the ports and dominions of the king of England and Spain, than a construction against the plainest purpose and sense of their words themselves ought to qualify, for it was true that *omnia intelliguntur permissa quæ non sunt expressè prohibita*, &c. (every thing is understood

to be permitted, that is not expressly mentioned in the list of exceptions and prohibitions, &c.) That the treaties between Lewis the VII. and Maximilian, and between Henry the VIII. and the emperor Charles, at Cambray, Bruxells, &c. did afford freedom of trade to Englishmen, with these words, *sicut proprij subditi, sicut in sua patria*, (as his own subjects, and as if in their own country,) &c. And secondly, that though the king of Spain might moderate the desires of his own subjects, or of those princes in whom he had a greater interest for many special respects, yet might the king of Britain stand upon the same terms that the queen of England did with Don Aires the Portugal ambassador, pressing earnestly a prohibition of English merchants upon the same grounds and motives that their lordships do now, which were that in this case she could not condescend with honour, to the king of Portugal's request, least his scope of trading universally in her dominions should be more absolute than hers in the dominions of Portugal thus limited; that if ports, which by the law of nations ought to be free to all men in respect of trade and use, though not of jurisdiction and property, might be shut up to any, it was to be either for hostility as the Civilians demonstrate, or in respect of infidelity; but that in the first degree, the king of Britain's subjects could not be ranked

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in respect of league; nor in the second, because the differences there are in religion between the princes reached not so far; but by the judgment of Hostiensis, a learned canonist, it was required that there should be either *falsorum et plurium deorum, aut utriusque testamenti rejectio;* (a belie for worship of false, or a plurality of gods; or an abjuration of both Old and New Testament;) therefore, against us the Spaniard ought neither to shut up their ports nor their harbours; that the last will of a Christian made in the *ports* of a Pagan prince was sufficient in law; because these were holden *juris publici et jure gentium ad usum communem tendere,* (to belong to the great republic of the world, and by the law of nations to be subservient to the common good of all). Whereas, all testaments that are made within the *dominions* of a Pagan prince were by law reversible: that therefore, it was holden by the Civilians, that in case a man would lay the charge out of his own purse of making or unbarring a haven, which is the greatest merit that industry can perform, *etiamsi edificia sunt edificantum tamen ipse portus debet esse communis,* (although all structures are the property of those who raise them, ports themselves ought to be common). And that so far were the Civilians from barring princes out of ports, as that they seem rather

to be *portuum vindices*, (the assertors of the freedom of ports), in purging the seas from piracy, and that their ports were a protection in *omnibus maribus*, (in all seas); besides, that if any body may bar us from trading into those parts, the right of that exclusion belonged properly to those Indian princes themselves, to whom the seas did belong, as the Civilians averred, in property and jurisdiction, that confine upon their state, and which did possess those places wherewith he desired to trade, for that the Portuguese did not possess the twentieth part of that which is open; 1000 leagues, lying sometimes between one part possessed by them and another, and they paying to those Indians pier custom and tribute for their freight, &c. That those princes were so far from barring and excluding, as they did rather allow all the world to trade, and if they did not, that the worst part must be ours, in adventuring so far without sound warranty; and these arguments were farther added by him: first, that in universal societies there ought to be an equality, and therefore a reciprocal, free intercourse was to be admitted by the law of society.

SECONDLY, that a contract, to be gainful to the one part without commodity to the other, was *leonina societas*, (a society of lions).

Thirdly,

Thirdly, that our kingdom consisted more of navigation than others did, and therefore, that their answer for having denied it to other countries was nothing pertinent to us.

Fourthly, that our people was a warlike nation, and having been accustomed to make purchases on the seas, could not better be reduced than allowing them a free liberty of trade.

The which he enlarged with this further amplification, that the other princes forbearing this trade was no lawful bar to the king of Britain; because it was rather for want of means than liberty in them; but the providence of God having fitted this state more for trade than any other, in the making of ships, the situation of the monarchy, the capacity of ports, the disposition of men, the strength of their constitution, and the convenience of all ordinary means, would tax us in a manner both with sloth and idleness, in case we should forbear to make our advantage by that means which nature offered; wherefore since we could not, without error and absurdity, suffer those wooden walls, as Apollo gracefully termed them, which are the ramparts of Brittany, to rot for want of use, there was great reason that the king of Spain, drawing them

them from employments of hostility, should leave them to the general and ordinary course of trade, whereby they might be maintained, the subjects enriched, and the state fortified.

THE senator of Milan answered, that though ordinary societies by leave should be equal, yet that they might be limited by conversions, and that the same ought not to be found strange in this case, because the said Indies were a new world; and touching argument of inequality of condition, that it could not be so reputed, because the subjects of England should have the liberty of commerce of thirteen kingdoms belonging to him, for the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and therefore, that it could not be said to be *Leonina societas;* that the king of Spain had ever denied the liberty of that trade to all his own subjects of what country soever, though depending as much upon navigation as we did: lastly, whereas it was argued that the liberty of the said trade would contain our people in better terms, that there was no reason that our men, which had before benefited themselves by the spoils unjustly, should now have for recompence a trade which had been denied to all others, even to the king of Spain's own kindred and brethren.

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THE lord Cecil said, that he found, by the former speech of the said commissioners, that they were not authorised to give any further satisfaction touching this point, and therefore, that he thought it fit to refer the resolution thereof to the coming of the Constable of Castille, to whom he hoped it would appear that he had not so much reason to deny the liberty of that trade as his majesty had to insist upon it.

THE commissioners answered, that the constable was no more authorised to give satisfaction therein than they were, being a matter which they did not expect would ever have come in question, and so their lordships' conference ended with them at that time.

FRIDAY the 1st of June, their lordships repaired again to the said commissioners, and the lord Cecil declared unto them, that their lordships held it to be the best course to the end, to bring the treaty to a more speedy and orderly conclusion, to take the view and form of other precedent treaties, and to select out of the same such rules as were necessary for the present time; that it was agreed of the form of the amity, and that the princes should not minister occasion of offence to each other, and that since there had been question of moderating

moderating our trade, which they termed to be an assistance to those of Holland, that their lordships since last being with them, had due consideration of the matter, and did protest not to be willing to insist upon any liberty to pleasure the Hollanders for the bettering of their condition, but because if they should admit the restrictions which had been proposed by the said commissioners or merchants, they should be bound to undergo infinite inconveniences and vexations by the perils which the same would draw upon them, for that it was impossible so clearly to distinguish of the sort of merchandise according to the several places of their making, but that it would breed a confusion of questions, and difference and endless troubles and molestation to the merchants; and therefore, that there was no reason to make any goods of Holland subject to confiscation, after such time as the property of them should be changed.

THE president Richardot answered, that it was not so hard a matter as it was conceived, to discern and distinguish of the places where any commodities were made, as well by the fashion itself of making, as also by the applying of some seal and mark, the which considered, that there was no reason but that they should confiscate the merchandise of Holland from

from what place soever the same should be brought.

THE lord Cecil told him, that contrariwise, it would be insupportable to our merchants, which would grow thereby, and we were moreover to have respect to the prejudice which we should otherwise receive by that means in our trade with France, who finding that we had covenanted not to vent the commodities which they might tender unto us, though being of foreign growth, would also hereupon interdict the receiving of our commodities into that country; therefore he wished it might be forborne to dispute further of that matter for the present, and to pursue his first motion to make a selection of articles out of former treaties.

THE senator of Milan answered, that they had some other special demands first to make, whereunto they desired to receive answer, namely, that they desired to be restored to the towns which were held belonging to them in the Low Countries.

THE lord Cecil told them, that the king's majesty did not pretend any interest of right to the said towns, and wished it were lawful for him to restore them to the true proprietary, but

but that he held them as pawns for good sums of money owing to this crown, and that there were no reasons he should dispossess himself of them till he were satisfied of the said debt.

THE senator of Milan answered, that we received the said towns from those that had no right to pledge them.

THE lord Cecil said, that the king should be much wronged to deliver them to others than from whom he received them; and if they would consider it well, that it would be safer for them that the said towns should be continued in his majesty's hands, than be restored to the states.

THE senator of Milan proposed it as a doubt how, if he would not restore the said towns presently, it might stand with the continuance of the peace? For their desiring to reduce the islands to their obedience, might lead them first, for their better entrance, to begin with the towns.

THE earl of Northampton told him, that the deceased queen possessed herself of the said towns by the like justice as the king of Spain took towns in France, and did ally herself

self with Holland and Zealand by the same right as he did with the house of Guise, so as it ought no more to be disputed with us than it was in their case, whether they took the towns, and possessed them from *vero domino* (the right owner), or not, whereof mention had been made by them.

But their lordships observed, that the great difference was to be made between the right of restoring of towns conquered, and such as were delivered for the satisfying of conditions of pledge and assurance.

The lord treasurer added further, that great difference was to be made between the bounds and contracts of private men and those of princes; that in the one the strict rules of private law, as was expressed, might have place; but in the second there was not only respect to be had of the laws, but also of public utility and princely honour, and of the equity that ought to be between great states: wherefore, inasmuch as the deceased queen of England did, as a public princess, enter into contract for the said towns, that the king's majesty was now still to hold them, and might not in honour deliver them; besides, that it was for the good of the archduke that they should rather fall into our hands than into worse.

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THE senator answered, that the ignorance of the law to whom the said towns belonged, ought not to be available to him that should have informed himself by better knowledge, as well concerning the right of private interests as of public; but if it should be admitted to yield profit to him for the time, it ought to be only for the benefit of the mere fruits, and not for the detaining of the thing itself; and whereas it was alledged, that it was happy for the archduke that the said towns fell into so good hands, that it would now appear by the restoring of the said towns; or otherwise, that we only respected our own interest, and nothing the good of the archdukes.

THE president Richardot answered, and pursued the same argument; only adding, that the king's right for his money might be sufficiently preserved against the parties that engaged the towns, and that they would assist us therein: that it would be dishonourable for their princes to make a peace, and to leave the said towns in our hands, and that they desired to know whether, if they should attempt the recovery of those towns, it should be taken as a breach of the peace.

THE lord Cecil told them, they had reason to seek to fortify their demands, but that their lordships had more reason to maintain their

their denial if their lordships should be forced to prosecute the further reasons which had been delivered unto them of state and honour, and plainly they were to understand, that it was a thing that the king would not do; that they ought to content themselves with the making of a firm peace with us, without casting us thereby into greater inconveniences than we were before subject unto by the war with them, that if they had purpose to attempt any thing against those islands, they should not be therein impeached by us, but only we would look to the guard of our towns.

THE earl of Northampton pursued a speech to the same effect.

THE senator of Milan answered, that they knew no difference between the right of a private man and of a prince, but that a prince could not be compelled to make restitution; and whereas it was said that these things could not be determined by the streams of law, that they required the said towns by the law of nations, which did yield to every man his right: but because it was alledged that the king should violate his oath and honour, in case he should assent to the present restoring of those towns, they confessed it was *regiæ*

potestatis, (a matter of sovereign power,) and therefore, that they would not further insist upon that demand: but they desired to be answered to their former proposition, whether in case they should be forced to the reduction of the towns, it would be held a breach of the peace, which they desired to have continue inviolable, and desired some provision to be made for it.

THE lord Cecil said, that their lordships were willing to concur with them to assent to any thing that might be reasonable for the reconciling of this difficulty, but that it was fit to proceed in the matter with great moderation, lest it might otherwise give interruption to the peace, and if they already advised of any unreasonable proposition to be made to their lordships, they would be glad to understand the same, or otherwise, that it might be considered of against the time of their next meeting, which was approved by the said commissioners.

THE earl of Northampton told them, that he would briefly remember unto them before their departure two considerable things: first, that their lordships had yielded unto them in all considerable matters, and given them no interruption; and secondly, how unwilling their

their lordships were, by way of argument, to receive the remembrance of the old differences, whereby they could sufficiently answer the point of the present propositions.

Tuesday the 5th of June, their lordships repaired again to the commissioners, and the lord Cecil declared unto them, that their important business which hindered them, from coming sooner to them, forced them still to begin with excuses for their long absence; that they had acquainted his majesty with the point that remained last in difference between them; and that they were commanded by his majesty to make them that answer to the same, whereof he desired they would make good interpretation; that he was willing to give their princes all good assurance and satisfaction of his design to entertain firm amity with them, but that he had reason chiefly to look to proceed in the making of the peace with the safe-guard of his honour, which he held in no less recommendation than his life, namely, concerning the cautionary towns, which he was resolved not to deliver over unto them for the reasons which had been before declared unto them, and that his majesty did find exceeding strange, that they should seek to exact more of him in that behalf, than they had done of their base and barbarous muti-

nied soldiers, with whom they had lately compounded, and had been contended that they should deliver back unto the States' hands the town of Grave, which they had received from them; but if they thought that there could be no peace made with his majesty, if he continued to hold the said towns, he would be willing, so as they would find the means, how he might be reimbursed his money, to deliver them back into the States' hands according as by contract he was bound; that thereupon their princes might afterwards take such course as they should think fit for the recovery of them.

THE senator of Milan answered, that the propositions made for not restoring the towns were the reasons of honour and utility: honour, for being otherwise engaged by contract to them from whom we received them; and of utility, in respect of your debt; that they did not desire to wrong the king in his honour, but because the holding of the said towns by the king, would be an impediment to the observing of the peace; therefore, that they would be glad that some reasonable means might be proposed how the one might be preserved with the other, which they thought might well be by suffering the king to keep the said towns in his hands some

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three or four years: in the which time it were to be hoped that the Hollanders might be redeemed to obedience either by his majesty's mediation, whereof they had good hope, or otherwise, by the good work of God; and if they were so, all difficulties would be removed, and order might be taken for satisfying of the king's debt; but if they should still remain in disobedience, then there would be no cause why the king should longer respect his promise to the Hollanders, finding them to continue so obstinate, and he was desirous that by this contract now to be made, the king would promise them to restore the said towns unto their princes.

THE lord Cecil said, that knowing the king's heart to be so full of integrity as they did, their lordships should much fail of their duty, if they should not return an answer worthy of their proposition; if there was not a third person interested in this case, the difficulty for the restitution of the towns might much more easily be cleared; but it was apparent to every man's reason, that a thing deposited could not be delivered over in the prejudice of a third person, and a thing simply deposited could not afterwards be restored upon conditions; that the covenant now to restore the towns at a limited time

hereafter, imported as much as the present restoring of them; that it were better therefore to advise of some other means; and that the king's majesty, to witness that he would be willing to give the said princes all the satisfaction that he might, would use all good endeavours to draw the Hollanders to a peace; and because, as their necessity should increase after having lost the favour of his majesty's protection, they would be then be most conformable to reimburse the king's debt: that whensoever they might be drawn to submit themselves, the king would make it appear that he likewise for his part would not stand, upon any reasonable matter of money, for the restoring also of the said towns, to bring the war to an end.

The president Richardot asked, whether it was not intended to yield to any limitation of time for the restoring of the said towns, but to refer it to the uncertain reducing of the States, and so to continue to a time infinite.

The lord Cecil answered him, that there was no reason to expose the king's majesty to the discredit of a dishonourable treaty for yielding to a limited time, seeing they were assured to reduce the said Hollanders within a short time after they should want the benefit of his majesty's

majesty's assistance. The earl of Northampton added further, that if the like reason of equity, after five years, should remain as now, for the not delivery of the said towns, why should they more urge the delivery to be then made than now? that it could not be denied that the Hollanders should be less able to withstand and to resist the archduke, being separated from us, than now; and therefore it was to be judged they would be reduced: but if contrariwise, by despair, that people should be forced to seek other protection, it were to be considered whether it were not better for the princes, that the king's majesty should join with them for the defence of his pledges, than to leave them to desperate men, without having his interest in them. Hereunto the senator of Milan replied, that though the said arguments had been in part before, and might be again sufficiently answered; yet that they would not insist upon further disputation, but rather desired to bring the point to a conclusion; and therefore, because it was alledged that it would touch the king no less in honour presently to covenant for the restoring of the towns at a certain time hereafter, than it would be to do it presently; and seeing on the other side, it would be dishonourable for their princes that there should a peace be made without

providing for this point in some sort, they offered to their lordships' consideration the framing of the said promise in this or like manner: that if within some certain time to be limited, those of Holland, &c. should not conform themselves at the king's solicitation, that then the king would be left to his liberty to dispose of the towns, according as should be agreeable to justice and good amity.

THE lord Cecil told them, that it was fit their lordships should acquaint the king with the said overture, before they gave them a conclusive answer thereunto, in respect that the king had been something distasted with the motion that was formerly made, and so their conference ended for that time.

THURSDAY, the 7th of June, their lordships repaired again to the said commissioners; and the lord Cecil declared unto them, that their lordships had at large acquainted the king with the arguments which were particularly handled by them of both sides, touching the point of the rendering of the towns; and the king's majesty took in so good part the moderation which they had used in being careful to temper the matter, that his honour might not be wronged, as he protested to be in trouble between the care how to shew himself thankful

thankful to their masters for the due respect therein had of him, and of the other side not to do a thing which might be dishonourable to him upon consideration of precedent contract made between the deceased queen and the United Provinces, which he was bound to observe: he did find that he stood so strictly engaged in honour towards the States, that he could not yet (as they do now stand) enter into a covenant for the delivery of the said towns to their masters; but that he conceived the best expedient would be, that he should enter into a new communication with the States, and to profess unto them, that if they should not either take order for the payment of their debt by a certain time, or else conform themselves to the obedience of their princes, that then the king's majesty would be at liberty to take such course with the said towns as should be agreeable with honour and justice; which assurance of the king's good inclination toward them in this course might well content them without urging the king to a more expressed promise.

The senator of Milan answered, that they never doubted of the king's affection for the good amity towards their princes; and therefore, that they held themselves bound to be the more careful to use their best endeavours

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for the tempering and accommodating of the point in question, so as the honour of both princes might be preserved; which they, by way of discourse, and not otherwise conceived, might be, by the assigning of a time convenient unto the Hollanders, wherein they should conform themselves, or else the towns to be restored to their princes; but that now it was added further, that if the States would pay the money in the mean season, that then they should receive the towns again, which could not be contracted by them, without prejudice to their princes' honour; and therefore, he referred himself to the president Richardot, to declare the interest of the archdukes upon that point; who signified, that it could not stand with the honour of their master to make any such contract.

THE lord Cecil told them, that all that hitherto had been spoken, was by way of discourse, to the end, to seek to reconcile this question, that as they were not to admit any mention to be made of restoring the towns to the States, because they conceived they should thereby approve either the States possessing of the said towns, or their fact to be lawful, so the king his master would be as loath to covenant any thing which might prejudice or discredit his own contracts with the States,

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in that he had accepted the said towns; therefore, as before had been declared, that the king did hold it to be the best course to summon the States to enter into a new conferrence and contract with him, whereby he might provide, that if they should not conform themselves within a convenient time, that he would be at liberty to take such course with the said towns as should be agreeable with honour and justice: and other promise than this, that he could not for the present make, till he had freed himself of the contracts with the States which did now stand in force.

The president Richardot desired, in the name of all the said commissioners, that they might have some time given them to consider of the said proposition; and withal, that some form of an article might be conceived for that purpose, to be delivered unto them, which was allowed of, and agreed to pass over to clear the point of the trade, which had been formerly handled.

Concerning the said matter of trade, the lord Cecil told them, that their lordships having had conference with the merchants thereof, they did all protest, that the restriction that was sought to be imposed upon them for not transporting

transporting the commodities of Holland and Zealand into Spain, would be of so great vexation and trouble unto them in their trade, as would be to their ruin, if they should be forced to undergo the inconvenience thereof; and therefore his lordship desired the said commissioners not further to urge the said condition, and the rather, considering that the benefit thereof would nothing be so great unto them as the prejudice would be great unto us: that we were content to give them satisfaction to yield, that our men should not make use of the Hollanders' ships or mariners, whereby they would be exceedingly distressed.

THE president Richardot answered, that the trouble would not be so great as was pretended; and that our merchants might be furnished of the same commodities out of the archdukes provinces, which they fetcht out of Holland and Zealand, which might well be distinguished by a seal from those of Holland.

THE lord Cecil told them, that our trade could not be so soon settled in their provinces; and that the States would moreover give impeachment to our trading with them, as they did to all other princes and states of the world pretending that they could not admit of any trading with the archdukes without their manifest

manifest ruin; and that we did expect to receive their protestation upon that point.

It was said by the commissioners, that the States would not dare to impeach our trade, if we would take the courses which we might do, to be sensible thereof; but it was told them, that it could not be done without plunging ourselves into a new war; and it was desired by their lordships to leave this question of trading with them, to be handled in its proper place and course, and to clear the other point first spoken, touching the transporting of Spanish wares of those princes into Spain, concerning the which the lord Cecil signified unto them that, if it would please them to be satisfied in the effect of that which they desired, he would propose an offer unto them how it might be done, and our merchants freed from molestation, which should be, that the king's majesty should prohibit the transporting of the commodities of Holland and Zealand into Spain; and so likewise of Spain into those provinces, by any of his majesty's subjects, upon pain of confiscation of the same commodities, and of incurring farther punishment; and, for the better observation thereof, that some seal should be appointed to design the commodities carried out of England. The said commissioners desired to take time to consider

consider of the said proposition, and so break off their conference for that time.

FRIDAY, the 8th of June, their lordships repaired again to the said commissioners; and it was moved by the lord Cecil, to know their resolution touching the point which had been last handled.

IT was answered by the said commissioners, that they were content to agree to the passing of our commodities into Spain, upon straight order and prohibition to be made by the king's majesty, according as was offered, that none of the commodities of Holland and Zealand, should likewise be under that colour transported by his majesty's subjects into Spain, upon confiscation thereof; and for the better avoiding of fraud in that behalf, that the merchandizes of England which might be subject to question, being of the same kind and making as those of Holland, should be distinguished by the marks and seals of the towns where they were made, and having that testimony, that they should not be subject to visitation, for the merchandize which should be marked, but there have their allowance.

IT was then moved by the lord Cecil, to know what provision they would require for the

the merchandizes which should be brought out of Spain, for not transporting the same into Holland and Zealand.

THE senator of Milan said, that we might be discharged of giving any caution in paying the impost of thirty upon the hundred; but it was answered by the lord Cecil, that we did not now only expect to have the impost abolished against us, but also to be restored to our former privileges and liberty of trade with them.

THE senator of Milan declared, that their care was to give their lordships satisfaction, by all means to make it appear what affection they did bear unto the peace: and therefore, although there were an order established for payment of thirty upon the hundred, for all goods issuing out of Spain, unless the same should be carried unto the archdukes provinces, that the said imposts should be remitted for such merchandizes as should be brought into England only.

THE lord Cecil answered, that though we must interpret every thing for a courtesy from them, wherein they would shew to make a difference between us and others, yet that we found it would be a hard condition unto us,

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to be restrained not only from carrying the commodities of Spain into Holland, but also into France; which happily might be an occasion also to impeach the liberty of our trade with France in respect of our admitting a condition of such prejudice unto them. But notwithstanding that their lordships were contented not to dispute the reasons of their interest, and would admit the said condition, upon protestation that the restraint for the transporting of Spanish commodities into France should not stand longer than till the present differences which were between France and their princes for matter of trade might be compounded, wherein that the king's majesty would be glad to do some good office between them, to take away those interruptions which might grow thereby to the state of the common trade of their subjects, that it followed to be the next question, what caution should be given for the observance of the foresaid restraint for such commodities as should be brought out of Spain.

It was answered by the senator of Milan, that they required the caution which was provided by their placard for the giving of assurance in Spain for the payment of the impost of thirty upon the hundred, if a certificate should not be afterwards brought of the landing

landing of the said goods in England, and not for carrying the same to the prohibited places.

THE lord Cecil told them, that there was no meaning to yield to give such assurance, in respect of the inconveniences and vexations which the same would draw upon our merchants; besides, that it was dishonourable for the king to yield unto it, that he was content to make strict prohibitions to the contrary upon pain of incurring severe penalties, and if any further caution were to be given, that it were rather necessarily to be taken here in England; that in such cases, where a provision could not be conveniently made without occasion of greater inconveniences otherwise, there ought to be reposed a trust in the honour and word of the prince, and upon complaint that should be made by the ambassador of Spain residing here of any contrary actions in that point, that there should be redress thereof.

IT was earnestly pressed by them to have some better provision; but in the end, after much debating, it was agreed to put off this question till some other time, without resolution of either part.

IT was afterwards propounded by the senator

of Milan, to clear the point also touching the imposts which our merchandize should pay, which were to be carried out of England into Spain, because the impost of thirty upon the hundred did stand still in force against us.

THE lord Cecil told him, that we undertook to bring the trade to the same state of payment of both sides, as it was before the breaking out of the last troubles.

THE commissioners answered, that their princes were content to remit unto us the impost of thirty upon the hundred, and that our merchants should not be subject to pay any other dues than were established by the time of the publishing of the last placard of thirty upon the hundred; and that they did not hold themselves to be authorized to look further backward for the taking away of any impost, than till the said time; so that there was no reason that we should seek to exempt ourselves from those impositions which were before established, and which are generally paid by the subjects of all other princes and other states whatsoever, and even by their own subjects; but if there hath been any thing particularly imposed more upon our nation than upon others, then, that we had to seek the abolition thereof, and not otherwise.

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It was answered by their lordships, that if the said commissioners were not authorized, as was alledged by them, to yield to any moderation of the imposts for longer time than till the setting out of the last placard, there was no reason for the present, to speak further thereof; and touching the other point, that we ought in reason to submit ourselves to the same general payments as all others did.

That the same was no good argument to be used to us, to whom there ought to be a more particular respect, in regard that we ever had in ancient times a more strict alliance and amity with them than other nations had, which was an occasion to move princes in favour of such an extraordinary friendship, to grant more special privileges and immunities to some nations than might be challenged by others, that could not pretend the like consideration, as it might be exemplified by the ancient convention made between France and Scotland, wherein the Scottish then had more beneficial privileges granted unto them than any other nation; that in our treaties with Burgundy, it had been provided to set down our particular privileges, and care had been taken to use us always with the same respect of favour in Spain, where our friendship had been the same; and therefore, that their lord-

ships found it strange that they would not make the treaty to have reference to the former time of amity, rather than to the latter more confused and troubled time wherein the interruption grew.

THE said commissioners protested, that they knew not, for their parts, what other impositions had been established since the time of the last troubles, besides the impost of thirty upon the hundred; and therefore, that it was to no purpose to argue longer upon an uncertainty, which could not be determined without better information of that point; whereupon it was thought fit to break off their conference for that time.

ON Wednesday, the 11th of June, their lordships repaired again to the said commissioners, and it was signified unto them by the lord Cecil, that their lordships expected to hear from them what other propositions they would make, of their part, to proceed to the conclusion of the treaty.

WHEREUPON it was answered by the senator of Milan, that it was best, before they entered into any new matter, first, to recapitulate and clear the points which had been before discussed and agreed on for matters of trade,

trade, namely, touching the goods of Holland and Zealand into Spain, and so likewise of the merchandizes, &c. we should carry out of England, or the archduke's provinces into Spain, and so likewise out of Spain into England, or the archduke's provinces only; that they should be exempted from payment of the impost of thirty upon the hundred, and the provision to be accepted which was offered; and the king's majesty should restrain the transportation of the commodities of Holland and Zealand into Spain, on pain of confiscation, and further in testimony that the said merchandize should be known to the English, that the same should be marked and distinguished by the seals of the places where they were made; but for such merchandize as should be transported out of Spain, he enforced it to be necessary that our merchants should enter in bond to the value of thirty in the hundred, not to carry the same to other places than only to England or the archduke's provinces, and upon any confiscations grown for any thing done contrary to the foresaid order, the king of Spain to be satisfied out of the same; the value of the said imposts of thirty in the hundred, and the rest due to be answered into his majesty's exchequer, with the allowance of the half part thereof to the informer.

It was answered by their lordships, that in Spain there had been lately raised another impost of twelve in the hundred, upon wines and oils, which were shipped from thence, wherein his majesty's subjects did sustain the greatest grievance, for that they did most deal with the said commodities; and, therefore, that his majesty's subjects should not receive any benefit by the trade of Spain, unless the said impost might also be taken away.

It was alledged by the commissioners, that the said impost of twelve in the hundred, did extend to all other nations, and even to their own subjects, and, therefore, could not now be removed.

But it was answered by their lordships, that there was no reason to comprise us under that generality, to whom there belonged a more particular regard, for restoring us to the privileges and customs which had been anciently accorded between us and them.

The others insisted earnestly upon the maintaining the lawfulness of the said impost; so as for that time, nothing was concluded upon that point.

Afterwards there was speech of the caution

tion which our merchants should give, which the said commissioners required, with sureties concerning the merchandize which they should bring out of Spain, for the not venting of the same contrary to the placard, but it was utterly refused by their lordships to subject our merchants to so troublesome a caution; and their lordships only assented to the giving of simple caution to the value of the said impost.

On Wednesday the 13th of June, their lordships repaired again to the commissioners, and it was moved unto them by the lord Cecil, that it might be granted to the end our merchants might receive comfort in the trade; to take away also the impost of twelve in the hundred, whereof speech had been before, as well as of the other of thirty. But it was answered by the commissioners, that the present state of their master's affairs could not permit the same to be done.

It was then demanded by the lord Cecil, that if they would not yield to the release thereof, how they would otherwise recompence it in some other thing, seeing in justice we ought to be exempted from the payment thereof, though their necessity would not permit it.

THEY said, that they had already gra[illegible] by the remittal of thirty in the hundred, and that they would in like manne[illegible] submit themselves to the ordinary impositions of the state, and so it was forborne further to prosecute that point at the time.

AFTERWARDS the lord Cecil prayed the said commissioners, to resolve their lordships, for the better clearing of the point of trade, whether their meaning was, to limit us to carry the commodities of Spain only into England, and other the king's dominions, and the provinces under the obedience of the archdukes, and not to any other parts of Christendom, as France, Denmark, &c.

THE said commissioners answered, that free liberty should be allowed unto us to bring any commodity of Spain, either for their own use, or to carry it into the archdukes provinces, without paying the imposition of thirty in the hundred, and to all other places, paying the said impost, &c.

THEREUNTO the lord Cecil answered him, that the king's majesty found, that if the placard should continue still in force, it would deprive his subjects of the benefit of a free trade, and generally interrupt the liberty of the

the commerce of all Christendom: therefore, that the king would be willing, to do a good office, to mediate an agreement between them and France, concerning the differences now depending between them for matter of trade, and the placards thereupon set forth, the one against the other, to the end there might be a convention of the said placards, whereof the trade might be restored to its former state.

THE senator of Milan answered, that for the point of their placards which did directly concern his majesty's subjects, it was resolved to exempt them from the payment of the said impost; but for the other point which touched other princes, although it was a thing unexpected by them, that the interests of other princes should come in question, and be handled in this treaty, yet that they could not but thankfully accept the king's most gracious offer to be a means for the compounding of the differences between their masters and others, and removing of the impediments grown about the said placard, wherein as they knew their princes would more repose themselves upon confidence of the king's majesty's kindness and sincerity than of any other prince's, so they would be willing to grow to any resolution upon the point of the placards, when

when the king should, with due regard of the honour of their princes, work their effecting of his intention for the compounding the said differences.

THE lord Cecil told them, that they might assure themselves the king's majesty would not deceive the trust of their princes in that behalf, and would be careful so to handle the matter as to propose it to the French ambassador, without any prejudice to the honour of Spain, and as it had been casually moved unto them, so that the ambassador should be dealt with in the like sort, and moved to procure permission to treat thereof, as it was desired, that he would do the like from the constable of Castille, to the end the matter might be presently proceeded in; in the mean season that it would be best also to suspend the motions which had been made upon the point between their lordships and the said commissioners.

THE senator of Milan desired, that the other intended course might be no impediment to the determining (for the mean time) of the present question between them; but their lordships refused to give them any further answer till they were better instructed of his majesty's pleasure therein.

It was then demanded of them by the lord Cecil, whether they had any other proposition to make?

Whereunto was answered by the president, Richardot, that they had a particular motion to make, in the name of the archduke, for restoring unto him of the ancient jewels of the dukes of Burgundy, which were engaged to the late queen by those which had no right to dispose of them; and in respect that the said jewels had ever been preserved and left in succession to the dukes of Burgundy, that they desired the recovery of them more in that respect than the value of them.

It was answered them by the lord Cecil, that the said jewels were engaged by most of the principal provinces of the Low Countries for good sums of money; therefore, that the king's majesty could not deliver the said jewels without their liking and agreement, and order to be taken for the re-imbursement of money, for the which hereafter some better expedient might be found than could be now; and the archdukes might assure themselves they should find the king's majesty very willing to use them with kindness therein, and his lordship signified unto them, that their lordships were also to make demand in behalf

behalf of the king's majesty for the re-imbursement of other monies, which were lent by the deceased queen to those princes, for the appeasing of the troubles, at the time of the pacification of Gaunt; which money the deceased king of Spain promised afterwards, by his letters, to pay interest of, it being for the use and benefit of his service.

THE commissioners alledged, that the satisfying of that debt did not properly belong unto their princes; and the rather, for that there followed no observation of the pacification made at Gaunt, and so for that time their conference ended.

ON Monday the 18th of June, their lordships repaired to the commissioners, and it was signified to them by the lord Cecil, that their lordships, out of their desire to bring the treaty to an end, thought it fit to conceive and frame certain articles agreeable to the points which had been hitherto treated on; and because there had been something insisted on which had reference only to some considerations of the present time, with the which matters it were not fit to clog the other general and perpetual conventions of the treaty; therefore, that their lordships thought it best to make some provision for those temporary restric-

restrictions, by private articles to be passed between the princes.

HEREUNTO it was agreed to read the articles which were conceived on both sides, which was pursued till it came to the article in the which they designed in what countries of the king of Spain's dominions intercourse and traffic should be permitted to the king's majesty's subjects, and for that the naming of some parts of the dominions of Spain and excluding others shewed that they had a meaning to exclude us from the trade of the Indies, it was desired by their lordships to agree that point concerning the Indies before they proceeded any further, and therewith it was declared unto them, that if they could shew any ancient treaty wherein the like restrictions had been used, then that their lordships would yield to reason therein; otherwise that there was no cause but that the trade ought to be accorded unto us in the article in the said general terms as had been unto all others in former time.

IT was answered by the senator of Milan, that they conceived the said article to be made according to their former conference with their lordships, seeing no mention was therein made of the Indies, one way or other; nevertheless,

theless, if their lordships did mislike any thing in the form of the words thereof, that they would be content the same should receive alteration, so as there might be a provision that the trade of the Indies might not thereby be permitted.

THE lord Cecil said, that to speak clearly unto them, as their lordships did conceive they would be unwilling to grant us the freedom of that trade, so they prayed them to understand that their lordships were not less resolved not to assent to be more restrained now from the liberty of using that trade than we had been by former treaties.

THE senator of Milan answered, that howsoever ancient treaties had been penned by neglect, yet that observation shewed that the use of that trade had never been granted to us, and seeing the taking of that liberty by colour of those words, might breed occasion of war again, it was convenient so plainly to express them at this time, as that all peril might be avoided, and nothing left that might give interruption to the peace.

THEIR lordship answered, that it was not their meaning now to dispute the king of Spain's right to the Indies, or whether he might

might lawfully restrain our trade thither or not; but that the king's majesty would not so wrong his honour as to yield to be more restrained in that freedom than France and other provinces were by the conventions made with them.

THE senator of Milan answered, that France never made that question for the liberty of the trade for the Indies as we had done; but seeing that the king's majesty would not admit a public article of restriction in such sort as they desired, because the same might be prejudicial to him in honour, that they would be content to pass the article in the same general terms with us as they did with France, so as the king would promise by some private article that he would not approve his subjects trading thither; but if any should offend in the contrary, that he would both punish them himself for the same, and allow the king of Spain to do the like.

IT was told by their lordships, that the king would be satisfied with the general article, which was passed with France, and that he could not otherwise assent to any private article whereby to yield to exclude himself from the said trade, only he would be content not

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to mislike that the adventurers into those parts should be left with the peril which they should incur thereby; or otherwise, that they would accord to forbid his subjects to trade unto any of the places which were now possessed by the king of Spain in the Indies, so as the said king would not give interruption to our trading to any other places which were not precisely under his obedience.

THEN it was urged by them to declare by a private writing, that he would leave the adventurers to their own perils, in such sort as had been before spoken of; but it was refused to engage the king to make any such promise by writing.

HEREUPON it was alledged by the said commissioners, that they having seriously advised how to reconcile the point of difference, they knew of no other means to do the same than to pass the article in general words, for the licencing our merchants to trade to all such places where formerly they had used to do.

THEIR lordships insisted still to have the article to pass in absolute general terms, without any manner of restrictions, and told them,

that

that if they thought it fit, there might be protestations made thereupon of both sides: of their part, for not intending to allow us the trade of the Indies; and for our part, for our not assenting to be excluded from thence.

But the said commissioners refused to yield thereunto, alledging that they could not further enlarge themselves than as they had formerly declared, and protesting vehemently, that if the said matter should be stood upon, they should be forced, to their great grief, to break off the treaty, which they referred to the consideration of his majesty, whereupon their conference ended for that time.

Thursday the 21st of June, their lordships repaired to the said commissioners, and it was declared unto them by the lord Cecil, that their lordships did acknowledge, that the form of the proceeding of the said commissioners with them had been so good, and agreeable to honourable dealing, as their lordships wished that it were also in their power to make them some requital to their liking; therefore, that their lordships would not seek, according to the custom of ministers in like cases, to value themselves by many diligencies of reservedness, but would plainly let

them know that day, what they would grant them next; for the which cause, although there was a breaking off the last time upon the point then in question concerning the Indies,' so as thereupon occasion of scruple might arise which partly should ruin the conference; yet that their lordships were not willing to stand thereupon: but to return to debate that argument with them to a further reconciliation, if it might be, for the concluding of the peace. And first, to make them answer by the king's commandment, to those things which had been the day before proposed to his majesty by the archdukes' commissioners in their audience with his majesty, concerning the licencing of men to pass from hence to the service of the States, the which numbers he said had not been raised by any assistance of the king's authority, but only by the private gathering of a few voluntaries together; nevertheless, because the public passing of them at that time from the city gave scandal unto the said commissioners, that order was taken by the king to restrain the transportation of any further numbers, at that time, from this place; but that the king must plainly let them know, that he could not deny his subjects the liberty to employ themselves in service abroad, in all places which were in amity

amity with his majesty, to the end to preserve the peace and quietness of his state, which abounding of people, he could not restrain them from seeking to make their fortune by service abroad, and that the king would therein shew no partial affection to the States, but would give the like free liberty to the archdukes to draw any numbers from hence, which they should require for their service; and withal, it was remembered unto them, that there was no reason to limit in that point more his majesty's subjects, than those of France and other countries, which did ordinarily go to the service of the States.

THE senator of Milan protested, how great satisfaction they received by their lordships' honourable proceeding with them, and prayed their lordships to conceive that they had no other meaning but only to refer the matter which was in difference to his majesty's consideration, and to be reconciled by his majesty's better wisdom and judgment; and he reinforced to the president Richardot, to make answer to the other parts of lord Cecil's speech, because he had dealt in the said matters with the king.

THE said president acknowledged, that

they had received good satisfaction from his majesty, by the answer which he had made them of not having been acquainted with their levies of men which had been complained of by them, and by the promise which it pleased him to make, to take order therein; and touching the offer made to furnish their princes in the like sort, in any number which they should require for their service, they gave their lordships thanks, saying, that they would advertise their princes thereof; but desired that under that colour there might not be liberty given to their enemies to draw men from hence, which would be directly against the peace; and for the proceedings of France, that we were not to take example by them, for that, howsoever they brake with them in that point, yet they being charged therewith, did not stand to the justification thereof, but alledged for their excuse, that they were but banished men that put themselves into that service; and moreover, that at the making of the peace, the French king did publicly prohibit that any of his subjects should afterwards serve there.

The lord Cecil said, that he found that the said answer which was made by them, consisted of two points; first, of the inconvenience that might grow thereby to them, then

then of the answer made for France. For the first, although it could not but be in some sort inconvenient for them, that ourselves should retain within the realm, a superfluous number of idle and loose persons, which by that means were routed abroad, we were rather to respect the avoiding of a greater mischief thereby unto ourselves, than a less prejudice that might grow to others: and touching that which had been said of France, that howsoever others would largely promise without respect of performance; yet, that the king's majesty had that just regard unto his honour and word, as he would promise nothing but that he would duly perform; and therefore, that he would freely profess before hand what liberty was fit for him to take for the good of his state: besides, that there was great difference to be made between us and France, in respect of a nearer interest we had with the States for the towns which the king held in caution, and otherwise, which necessarily as yet required the holding on of a correspondence with them.

THE earl of Northampton pursued a speech to the same effect, comparing the politic body of a commonwealth to the natural body of a man, wherein it was often necessary to

purge superfluous and ill humours, which otherwise might endanger the health of the body; so also that if it were meant to spend abroad loose persons, as they grow to abound in a commonwealth, the retaining them could not be without danger of the safety of the same.

THE commissioners answered, that there might be means for them to serve abroad in other places, though not in Holland and Zealand, to their prejudice, and that they had ever grounded themselves upon the king's promise, that there should be a restraint for going thither.

WHEREUNTO their lordships shortly replied, that men were most willing to repair thither, where there did occur most action and matter of employment, as at this time there was in the Low Countries; neither would they, as counsellors, advise his majesty otherwise to restrain his subjects; and so they brake off for that time, till his majesty's pleasure might be better known therein.

WEDNESDAY the 27th their lordships repaired again to the commissioners, and the lord Cecil signified unto them, that their lordships had made the king acquainted with the matter

matter which remained in difference between them, at the time of their last conference touching the restraining of voluntaries to repair to the service of the States, and how they urged a promise made in that behalf to some of them by the king; and also, for revocation of the number which were now there: whereunto the king's majesty did answer, that he was sorry to have been so misunderstood, but would be loath to enter into any question thereupon with an ambassador, for that he would not acknowledge that he had promised any such thing without doing himself great wrong; but if, out of the liberty of a free mind, and a good affection towards them, he had said in discourse, that if he should hereafter find the States to persist still in their obstinacy, that then he might be moved to press more straightly against them in such course as had been spoken of, there were no reason that any such discourse which was ever used by him with reference to the respective conditions of a peace, should be urged as a promise which would bind himself presently to satisfy.

THE count of Aremberg desired that he might explain himself, that he did not charge the king to have made any such direct promise, but only to have used speech to him,

whereby he thought to have reason to conceive hope of such an affection in the king towards the archdukes. And the president Richardot, prayed their lordships to consider, that if that article were not accorded, it would be directly to cross the purpose of a peace, and contrary to all former treaties; and thereupon he produced precedents of former treaties which were all made with strict cautions respecting that point.

The lord Cecil answered, that the king had not so ill a purpose to prejudice them by that liberty of that article as they seemed to conceive jealousy, but only to avoid inconveniency to himself, and that there was not so precious regard to be had to that which the formalities of the law did require, as what did more nearly concern the king in his private and particular interests, the use being always to make the conditions of peace agreeable to the considerations and respects of the time present; and therefore, that the king's majesty prayed them to be satisfied that the present state of his affairs would not permit him to allow of that article of restriction.

The senator of Milan answered, that they perceived that the king's majesty had an honourable meaning not to do any thing that might

might tend to a violation of the peace; but only to avoid being bound to restrictions which might touch him in honour: therefore, he wished that the articles might be preserved which had been conceived, and that they might be so framed as that the honour of both parties might be preserved. Whereupon it was agreed to read the articles which had been offered by the said commissioners. And their lordships finding cause to except against his strictness of them in sundry points,

It was declared unto them by the lord Cecil, that the king's majesty was not of the disposition of other princes that seek to make evasions by the subtilty of words; but contrariwise, was sincerely minded, as he desired, that the treaty might be made in so clear words as might breed no ambiguity, or doubt of interpretation; and therefore, as the king would be willing to yield to reasonable things, so he desired that the treaty might not be compounded of unnecessary and superfluous articles, as their lordships conceived some of those to be, which were delivered by the said commissioners.

The said commissioners answered, that they would agree to any reasonable amend-

ment,

ment, but first, they desired to be satisfied from their lordships, what order should be taken for the revoking of the regiments of his majesty's subjects, and commanders which were in the service of the States; for that it would not stand with the conditions of a peace, to suffer them to continue longer there; and therefore, desired, that it ought to be agreed to revoke the said troops by a public edict.

THEIR lordships prayed them seriously to consider, whether it would not be much more inconvenient to the king to yield to their demands therein, than the forbearing thereof would be advantageous to them, both in respect of the great pester and burthen which he should draw upon the realm by the revoking of the said troops; and the rather, for that most of them had great sums of money owing to them by the States, for the discharge of their accounts and reckoning; and in as much, likewise, as by that means he should so much discontent the Hollanders, as might move them out of despair to practise to recover from his majesty the towns which he held there, whereby there would not remain unto them either credit or power, to mediate with them to reduce them to obedience; that the number of his majesty's subjects

subjects now serving there was not great, and of them, few which were persons of account. But, for their satisfaction, that the king's majesty would be content to disavow hereafter, the repairing of any persons of quality to the service of the States, and to endeavour to divert them from going thither.

THE said commissioners answered, that to make it appear that they would not press the king in any thing to his prejudice, they would satisfy themselves with the forbearance of the said public revocation, so as the king would promise that there should be some private means used to persuade them to return, which was thought reasonable to be promised by their lordships to be done so far forth as the parties serving there could be induced thereunto; and thereupon the articles were so reformed as should neither import any such public revocation, nor to restrain the going of voluntaries thither; and upon that conclusion taken, their lordships ended their conference for that time.

FRIDAY, the 29th of June, their lordships repaired again to the said commissioners, and it was moved by the lord Cecil, that there might be a review of the articles which were formerly agreed on, to be thoroughly perfected, that

that afterwards they might proceed to the determining of the other points of the treaty, which was accordingly performed; and after some amendments of the articles given on either part, they resolved upon the draught of the general articles for peace, and in what form the commission for the cautionary towns should pass, and that the garrisons of those places should give no aid or assistance to the Hollanders.

This being finished, they proceeded next to speak of some provision to be agreed on between them, for security of our merchants against the dangers of the inquisition of Spain.

To the which it was answered by the commissioners, that it was out of the king of Spain's power to make any particular conventions against the inquisition; but that they would pass a general article, whereby his majesty's subjects should be provided for, not to be subject to danger for matters of religion, so as they gave no cause of public scandal.

But it was told them by their lordships, that an article, in that generality would not be sufficient safety unto the merchants, because it would be even in their power to interpret

terpret what was to be accounted a scandal, and what not; and their lordships shewed unto them examples of divers notorious wrongs which our merchants had received in that case, besides that there was no cause why difficulties should now be made to yield to particular provisions; for that in time past, the like had been done, as their lordships made appear unto them by that which had been agreed on in that behalf, with the duke of Alva.

Whereupon, at length, it was resolved by the said commissioners to insert a general article of assurance for that purpose; and to refer the further explanation thereof to some particular articles to be agreed on. Upon these resolutions, their lordships being ready to depart; for that the Spanish ambassador acquainted their lordships with a letter which he had newly received from the constable of Castille, whereby he signified, that, touching the motion which had been lately made by the king's majesty, for compounding the differences between the kings of Spain and France, upon the placard of thirty upon the hundred, wherein his majesty offered that himself would be a mediator, that although the king of Spain had given the constable no commisssion

commission to treat thereupon; yet, if the king's majesty would be pleased to deal in that matter, that he would undertake that the king his master should ratify whatever should be concluded therein.

MONDAY, the 2d of July, their lordships repaired again to the said commissioners, and signified unto them their allowance of the draught of the general article for peace, and touching the cautionary towns which had been considered by them of their last meeting, save only, that they desired the amendment of some few words therein; and that, as there was a provision, that the forces serving in his majesty's cautionary towns, should not minister any aid unto the States; so also, that there might be a reciprocal article, that the archdukes' or king of Spain's forces should not attempt any thing to the offence of the said garrisons, which was assented unto by the said commissioners.

THEN the senator of Milan exhibited to their lordships the general article which was conceived by him for freeing of our merchants from the dangers of the inquisition in Spain, which imported only, that for the better security of the trade there, they should not be subject

subject undeservedly to any molestations in their negotiations, unless they gave occasion of scandal.

THEIR lordships took great exceptions both to the weakness of the word "undeservedly;" as also, for that there was not a direct mention of the words, "for not receiving molestation for cause of religion," which their lordships desired to have clearly expressed, to give satisfaction to the king's subjects, that care had been taken for their security in that behalf.

THE said commissioners assented to amend the word "undeservedly," but they utterly refused a long time to have any mention made in the article of matters of religion, and earnestly insisted to have the same to run only in other general terms; for that they could not undertake to prescribe in causes of religion, but that there might be a sufficient provision for the merchants' safety by other private articles.

THEIR lordships answered, that it behoved the king's majesty to be no less careful to provide, that his subjects might not be wronged for matters of conscience, than they shewed themselves to be careful to preserve their religion;

gion; and that there could not be aptly made a reference from the general article to the private, unless there were mention made in the general article of the matter referred; and, moreover, that it would minister suspicion, that there would follow no due execution of the said private orders, if it should be refused so much as to name the thing that was to be provided for.

THEIR lordships further had speech with them, touching the explanation of their meaning in the word "scandal;" for that, if it were left ambiguous, it might draw his majesty's subjects into danger, as well for omissions as commissions, as they did exemplify in some particulars.

THE said commissioners answered, that if they should express all particulars, what should be interpreted to be scandalous, and what not, the same would grow to be infinite; and therefore, that they held it best rather to rest in the general than to descend to over-great particularities, notwithstanding that they accorded that, for the better distinction, the word "public" should be added unto it; and that they accounted not the use of private prayer by our merchants, either in their ships, or in their chambers, to be within

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the compass of public scandal, but to be a matter of adherence to trade; and in the end, after much debate, the said commissioners further yielded to pass the general article, with mention, that his majesty's subjects should not be molested, either by land or sea, for matters of conscience, within the king of Spain's or archduke's dominions, if they gave no occasion to public scandal; and that the particular agreements made in that behalf with the duke of Alva, should now also privately be confirmed.

WEDNESDAY, the 4th of July, their lordships repaired again to the said commissioners, and the lord Cecil put them in mind of the general article which was agreed on, concerning the inquisition, which was again read and approved by them; and also of confirming of the private articles, which were assented unto by the duke of Alva; but their lordships desired further, that order also might be taken, that his majesty's subjects might not be entangled by any questions or provocations proceeding from their parts, that might minister cause of scandal, by declaring of themselves, being urged by such means; and also, that the consuls of the English might not, in respect of their residence there, for the government of the merchants, be accounted as inhabitants,

bitants, and thereby made subject to the censures, which were not reputed inhabitants; both which propositions were thought reasonable and agreed unto.

AFTERWARDS their lordships, entering further into treaty of the matter of intercourse, the lord Cecil took occasion upon the articles, which had been before delivered unto them by the commissioners, to signify that their lordships found they had therein made question of things, which they thought should never have come in speech, but have passed under silence, namely, touching the restrictions added by them concerning the trade of the Indies, which had never been heretofore offered to any other prince, in any other treaty; and it could not stand with his majesty's honour now to admit.

WHEREUNTO the senator of Milan answered, that although they did not hold any thing which had passed in discourse to stand resolved, till the same were absolutely concluded; yet they prayed their lordships to remember, that in the argument of that matter, they had so far forth declared themselves, that they were to stand upon it, being a liberty which the king had not hitherto granted to his own brethren, or any other friends.

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THE earl of Northampton, in answer unto him said, that he declared his mind so ambiguously, that their lordships understood not thoroughly whether their meaning was, that they could not permit the said trade, or whether they could not but by express words forbid it: that touching the first, their lordships had no desire to move them to grant the same; but touching the latter, that there was no reason that his majesty should be hardlier dealt withal in the point, than other princes had been, especially the cause being of that nature as that therein there ought to be no restraint. By the law of nature and nations, the sea ought to be common to all men; and likewise among friends, mutual commerce ought not to be forbidden in any part of their dominions.

THE senator of Milan replied, that although by nature, in ordinary course, the sea was free to all; yet notwithstanding, the jurisdiction thereof might be prescribed, when a positive act gave first occasion thereof; and thereupon entered into a large declaration, how the king of Spain and Portugal had by prescription attained a right, as he said, in those seas; and touching the other allegation, that liberty of intercourse ought to be yielded unto in each others kingdoms and dominions among friends, he said, that the king's majesty was willing to

grant the same in his other dominions, which were great; but, for the Indies, which he had discovered with great charge and loss of men, it was reasonable, that he should restrain the same to his own benefit, to answer so great a charge.

WHEREUNTO the earl of Northampton answered, that neither of these two points which he pleaded of privilege by first discovery, nor of prescription by time, which were all the grounds that the king of Spain could take for that arrogation of the propriety of the Indies to himself, could in any reason stand; because that, for the first point of privilege, we did produce patents granted by Henry VII.; yet in record, to Columbus, &c. for discovering of the Indies *quinto Martii anno Septimo;* and, that further testimony which Ferdinandus Columbus set down in the life of his father, whereunto he might add the answer of Charles I. to the Portugueze ambassador, claiming against him, as the Spaniards did at this day, against us, and all nations, a sole interest in this trade; that it was not found out by their skill, but by mere chance, they being cast upon those places by shipwreck, not guided by foresight or knowledge; besides, that if first discovering might give occasion of any such prohibition, that then

then the queen's majesty might have restrained their fishing in the Northern seas, which, notwithstanding, the Spaniards took liberty to use; and lastly, that the freedom of intercourse to the Indies could not be prejudicial unto them, but good for both states, our merchants demeaning themselves well in their trade; and touching the point that the king of Spain could not challenge the said right by prescription, the said earl alledged that he could avouch all the greatest doctors of the civil laws and common law to prove, that to prescribe the seas, was against the law of nature and nations; because, by that not only *maria et equora, sed et omnes res immobiles etiam communes erant*, (not only seas, and navigable rivers, and lakes, but whatever things were fixed and immoveable were common). For though we have a little digressed from their community, so far as concerned the propriety of lands, whose dominion being common by nature, was notwithstanding, by tract of time divided and severed from that community; yet that in the dominion and propriety of the sea it was otherwise, the law of nature and community remaining still, as at first, unchangeable; both because the mobility and fluxibility of that element admitted not such anchor-hold, of possession; as also, because the main ocean was too vast a share

to be possessed or commanded by any other sovereign than by him that created it; but to omit that heap of testimonies, which the grave senate of the learned writers offered in this case, his lordship said, he would only avouch one, which, for his understanding was to be reverenced, and for his integrity to be preferred in this cause before any, in respect that he was of council to the king of Spain, whose interest was chiefly pinched in his conclusion: the author he alluded to was Ferdinando Vasquieres, who, glancing at the Venetians and Geneose for assuming to themselves the exclusive interest and right in their several gulphs, reprobates their tenets in the plainest terms; and also, the opinions of that croud of Portuguèze and Spaniards who espouse their doctrines. Vasquieres freely declares his opinion, that the kings of Spain have not any prescriptive jurisdiction over the great Indian Ocean, and maintains in general, the liberty of the seas against the idle dreams of the Venetians and Genoese, and all who abet their narrow and unjust maxims on this subject.

The earl of Northampton having quoted at length the words of Vasquieres in the original Latin, of which the substance has just been given briefly in English, proceeds to observe,

observe, that the ground of this writer's opinion was, that reason which was formerly set down, that no prince was tied to any civil laws from which prescriptions did spring, but resorted to the common law of nature and nations, which absolutely prohibited all prescriptions of those things which God and nature had left in community and liberty. And whereas lawful prescription did require a space of time, *cujus non extat memoria* (immemorial), that it was evident by the report of records and histories, that the first possession of any place in those parts happened within the memory of man; moreover, that this prescription had been interrupted, which it ought not to be, when right was claimed, might be proved not only by the resort of the countrymen to those parts in time of war, and of the French and other nations in like manner; but most evidently by that answer of the emperor Charles, to the king of Portugal, excepting against his traffic to the East; that trade was open to all nations by sea, that he would be barred of no place where there was hope of gain; and most plainly by this conclusion, when the Portugueze began to speak so big, that it was a phrase fit to affright and terrify faint spirits; for that it lay in him to requite all affronts with double measure: and therefore, that it was best for

them to depart peaceably for the present time, and return again *cum facti essent prudentiones*, (when they had learned greater prudence). The said earl adding therewithal, that he would be loath to be conceived, as if in this they went directly to contest or oppose against the scope of greatness of the king of Spain; but only to demonstrate to the said commissioners upon this occasion, how great equity there was in the demand of our merchants, that free trade might be allowed to them by the common passage of the seas; so they wronged no princes in Europe, came not where the king of Spain had regiment or property, nor sought traffic by force; but with freedom, and to the liking of those Indian princes, which experience had taught did invite them, and would be glad of them.

The senator of Milan answered thereunto, that although Vasquieres were of that opinion, yet there were many others that upon good advice, had determined otherwise, and for the Emperor Charles, if he should so answer to the Portugueze touching the East Indies, that it might have been retorted against himself, in respect of his right to the West Indies; that, for the example of the discovery of the northern seas, they had interest in the said

said discovery as well as we; and, for the controversy between the emperor and the king of Portugal, that the Pope had determined it, distinguishing each part to other by separation of the line.

To this it was answered by the earl of Northampton, first, that it did not rest in the liberty of any prince or potentate under heaven, to limit or stint the scope of traffic or intercourse which nature had left at liberty; for since society was comfort of men's life, amity the bond of union, and charity the badge of Christ, to take away the ordinary means of settling and establishing those infallible assurances, were the ruin and utter overthrow of that happy work which Christ would have intended. Above any thing, therefore, it was sin to cut off the most apt occasion of reconciling minds and affections that were so far severed, both in piety and policy. Again it was alledged that the Pope, of all other potentates, was least fit, and worst qualified to decide those debates, drawing both his priesthood, and the warrant of his pre-eminency from Christ our Saviour, who in respect that his kingdom was not of this world, nor to be maintained by the sword, as that of other princes, but was dependent upon another string; refused flatly to decide

decide some question wherein he was elected arbitrator, about the partition of a state of inheritance. But supposing that a Pope, as pastor, had to deal and moderate in their disputes between the sheep of his own fold, yet as St. Paul refused plainly to judge of those that are without the Church, *(Dei iis qui sunt foras judicare)*, so likewise, it might be thought hard by some princes which were not within the fold, to hearken to the voice of a strange shepherd, *(audire vocem pastoris cujus non fuit)*. Last of all, the uttermost that either in law or equity could be required, was, that the sentence should stand in full strength, only against those that had submitted their cause to the compromise, that is, Spain and Portugal, without comprising other princes of Christendom that were left at liberty; that the work of winning souls was laudable and excellent; but yet, since the task was over great for one state, or two, so many provinces having nothing to do with Spain or Portugal, which were to be drawn by ordinary means into the ordinary way, the safest and soundest course for the dispatch of that labour, as our Saviour himself had taught, was to send in many labourers where the harvest was plenteous, *(multos operantes ubi messis multa)*, and not to lay the labour upon one hand or two, which in reason, must

be

be weary before the church be replenished. That many were both resolute, and able to preach Christ crucified, which by obstructions of ready passage were excluded from the scope of their religious industry.

THAT the bounty of Christ, in giving and granting, as the royal prophet had set down, *terram filiis hominum*, (the earth to the sons of men), was only limited by conscience and equity, with this respect, that it did not take away the right of any other, either by pre-occupation, purchase, gift, or any other means possessed of his part; because, not every thing, but *quod nullius in bonis est*, (what is in no man's possession), being either derelicted, or *nunquam acquisitum*, (never acquired), *occupanti conceditur*, (becomes the property of the first occupier). But in this case we did not seek for territorial property, but commerce, and the propagation of faith and charity; therefore, not to be refused.

THE lord Cecil said, that to bring the matter to a conclusion, he desired to be satisfied from the commissioners, whether by their commission they were so restrained as that they could not pass that article for common liberty of intercourse, without an express prohibition of the Indies; which, if it were

so,

so, then that their lordships must plainly let them know, that the king's majesty could not admit a condition so much prejudicial to his honour.'

THE senator of Milan answered, that by their commission they could not admit any article in another form than to exclude from the liberty of the trade with the Indies: notwithstanding, if their lordships could advise of any means how, the substance being preserved, the king's honour may be duly respected, by the alteration of any other form of words than was proposed, they would willingly assent thereunto; or otherwise, that they were sorry that so much labour had been taken in vain, seeing they could not effect what was desired of all parties.

HEREUPON, after further consideration and debating, it was resolved at length by all parties, that in the article conceived for general intercourse, those words should be inserted, *in quibus ante bellum fuit commercium juxta et secundum usum et observantiam*, (in matters wherein there was commerce before the war, agreeably and according to the usage and observance of ancient compacts), and so the article to pass for the kingdoms appertaining to the Spanish king; whereby their lordships thought

thought it fit rather to leave the matter to the liberty of the other interpretation of former treaties, and the observance and use thereof, than that the instancing of express permission or prohibition, might give interruption to the treaty.

THEIR conference being ended, the lord Cecil signified to the said commissioners, that the French ambassador had acquainted the king's majesty, that he had received authority from the French king, his master, to treat with the said commissioners, for the compounding the difference concerning the impost of thirty in the hundred, and the Spanish ambassador also agreed to have agreed with him thereupon.

THURSDAY, the 5th of July, their lordships repaired again to the said commissioners, and it was moved by their lordships, that they might proceed to consider of the rest of the articles which were delivered by the commissioners of Spain, concerning intercourse of trade, upon the perusal whereof, it was moved by the lord Cecil, that there might be a permission that it should not be lawful for the ships of war of the said princes, to enter into our ports above a certain number; and that advertisement should be before-hand given

given to his majesty by the said princes, when they should have occasion to send extraordinary numbers of ships of war into those ports which was thought reasonable, and the same inserted accordingly, into the said articles; and so, with other amendments in some other points, the articles for the trade with Spain were resolved, and agreed on.

AFTERWARDS, their lordships proceeded to consider of the articles which were delivered by the archdukes' commissioners, wherein their lordships finding that among other things, they had specially inserted, the former trade of our merchants into the archdukes' ports, and undertaken to assure the liberty of the same trade,

IT was demanded by their lordships, whether they intended to enjoin our merchants to trade into their ports, notwithstanding that the States should oppose themselves thereunto.

THE said commissioners answered, that seeing they had allowed of merchants to trade into Holland, it was as great reason, that the king should take order that his subjects might be permitted to trade freely into their ports, the archdukes being no less worthy to be therein

therein regarded than the Hollanders. And, as it was one of the most essential points whereof they expected benefit by the treaty, that it did likewise import the king's majesty in his honour not to have his subjects' trade restrained by the said Hollanders.

THEIR lordships answered, that it was not the king's meaning to make a difference of respect between the archdukes and the Hollanders; but that it was fit to proceed by such degrees, as not presently to give them discontent by any public stipulations against them, whereby to enter into terms of unkindness with them; and for the peace which he made with the archdukes, to hazard to plunge himself into a more desperate war with the others, in respect of their obstinacy, to restrain all trade from their ports, pretending that otherwise their ruin did depend thereupon; besides, that as merchants could not be compelled to trade to any places where they should not find it convenient and safe for them, so that there was no reason to tie the king's majesty to straiter conjunctions upon that point than the French king was by his treaty; but that they might assure themselves, that the king's majesty did effectually desire that his merchants should trade into their ports, and

that

that all good opportunities should be taken for the same.

THE said commissioners alledged, that it did not less import the archdukes, that their princes should be relieved by trade; and therefore, earnestly insisted, in respect that the benefit thereof was one of the principal fruits of a peace, as had been before declared, that there might be direct provision for the same by articles, as had been proposed.

THEIR lordships said, that they would be willing to satisfy them, in the effect of that which they desired, to endeavour that our merchants might trade into their ports, though it could not be as yet with that fullness as heretofore it had been used; and if the States should impeach our merchants therein, that the king's majesty would shew as conveniently he might, to be sensible thereof; but because it was not fit for him to promise by open act, to take any unkind courses against them, their lordships yielded otherwise to pass the said articles in general and reciprocal terms, that care should be taken by the king's majesty, and the archdukes, for a free intercourse of trade between their subjects in each of their countries, and delivered them a minute of

of an article for that purpose, whereof the said commissioners desired to have leisure to consider till the day following, and so their conference ended for that time.

FRIDAY the 6th of July, their lordships repaired again to the said commissioners, and their lordships requiring to understand by them how they were satisfied with the article which was delivered to them at their last meeting for a reciprocal intercourse of trade with the provinces of the archdukes,

THE president Richardot answered, that they were forced again to represent to their lordships, that it did so much import them to receive benefit by the trade of his majesty's subjects with them, as that they must desire that there might be a direct provision for the same; that it was not their purpose to seek to engage his majesty into a war, but only desired that we would take order, which we might, for relief in that behalf, otherwise that they should receive little fruit by the peace; that they confessed their strength to be too weak by sea, as that they were not able to prevail for the freeing of their ports from the impeachments which the Hollanders did give them; and therefore, that they desired his majesty's assistance therein, which they con-

ceived was not to be refused, seeing it would be good for the subjects of both countries to procure such an intercourse of trade.

THE lord Cecil told them, that as the king's majesty would be willing to favour the archdukes in any thing he might, so he was to have care not to do it with prejudice of his honour; as in this case they sought to impose such a condition of inequality upon him as could not be very disadvantageous unto him if he should assent to the same, and therefore, that the article concerning the said matter ought to pass between the king and the archdukes in reciprocal terms.

THE earl of Northampton added, that the joining of the king's majesty with the archdukes could not but be both honourable for the said princes, and also effectual to the purpose by the commissioners intended: honourable, in that considerations made between greater and lesser princes ever strengthened the weaker and redounded to their reputation; effectual, for that when it should appear that his majesty had a joint desire together with the archdukes, that the commerce for their subjects should be free, and to that purpose had reciprocally accorded that each of their ports, and the passage thereunto, should be

open

open to the others subjects, it could not but be of great force to work the effect which was designed for the common benefit of trade; and further, his lordship referred unto their considerations, if his majesty should undertake the care solely, as by their speeches they urged, whether, besides the note which ought to be taken of so unequal conditions clean contrary to the common ground, *ubi commodum ibi onus*, (the party that is to reap the profit ought to bear the burthen), the same might not be interpreted also, to imply in this point, a league offensive and defensive, and a professing of hostility to all the archdukes' enemies, or at least administer cause of jealousy unto the United Provinces; that his majesty would take occasions to damnify them for the archdukes' benefit, which, how inconvenient it were to be done at this time, both in respect of his majesty's honour, and the discommodity also that might grow thereby to the archdukes themselves; the case standing with them to consider duly of it, and then he doubted not, but they would no longer insist on those terms, nor seek to press their lordships further than might be accorded unto conveniently.

THEIR lordships finding the commissioners not fully satisfied with the aforesaid reasons, it was at length agreed to insert into the said

article the words *conjunctim et divisim* (conjointly and severally); which gave satisfaction unto the said commissioners, and the president, Richardot in the name of them, yielded great thanks unto their lordships for their honourable proceedings with them in all the course of the treaty, wherein they acknowledged to have received very good contentment, and prayed to be excused from having so much insisted upon the last matter, in respect that the same was also of great importance unto them.

THAT article being so agreed, their lordships signified unto the said commissioners, that they conceived to have now resolved of all the principal articles of the treaty, and that the king's majesty was not willing to tie himself to longer residence within the city at that time of the year, but to go his intended progress; therefore, they wished that the coming of the constable of Castile might be hastened, with all the speed that might be, which the said commissioners undertook to do, and that he should arrive within twenty days; and because there remained nothing else to be further done for the final concluding of the treaty, than only to consider of certain demands which had been made by our English merchants for their better assurance, and to reduce the treaty into form;

form; it was moved by their lordships, that for the speedier accelerating of that business, Sir Daniel Dun and Sir Thomas Edmonds might resort unto them for the dispatch thereof, with them in respect of their lordships other employments, at that time, which was assented unto.

It was, moreover, moved by the lord Cecil, that it might be proceeded by the treaty, that if hereafter, upon the king's intercession, those of the United Provinces might be drawn to a reconciliation with the archdukes, there might be a reservation of liberty for the receiving of them upon the king's motion and solicitation in that behalf, which was likewise yielded unto; and so their lordships conference ended for that time.

Friday the 10th of August, the constable of Castile arrived at London, being conducted from Gravesend to Dover by the lord Wotton, and the chief gentlemen of Kent, whither the earl of Northampton, attended by divers of the king's servants, and others, was sent to receive him, who brought him thence to Somerset-house, which was richly furnished for him by the king, and order taken for the defraying of him and his train at the king's

charges, and so likewise for all the other commissioners.

Those of Spain being lodged together at Somerset-house, and the archdukes' commissioners at Durham-house.

Sunday the 12th, their lordships and the commissioners went to visit and welcome the constable in the king's name.

Tuesday the 14th, the king's majesty returned from Royston.

Wednesday the 15th, their lordships went to confer with the constable, to make a recapitulation of all the points of the treaty which had been formerly agreed on with the other commissioners; and, for that it was propounded by the merchants to know whether the treaty did import to give them leave to carry likewise the commodities of Germany into Spain, as well as those of this realm, without paying the impost of thirty per hundred; which, although their lordships conceived in their meaning, and according to the words of the treaty to be clear in that point; nevertheless, it was thought fit by their lordships, to speak by accident of that matter,

matter, first, with the commissioners, and afterwards as there should be occasion with the constable himself, which was accordingly done: and the said commissioners insisted earnestly upon the contrary interpretation of the said point, for not comprising the merchandizes of Germany to be free from the payment of the said impost of thirty in the hundred; and also, the constable maintained, that he would not yield to the further enlarging of the said article, seeing he had sent the treaty subscribed by their lordships into Spain.

WHEREUNTO their lordships replied, that they only desired the explanation, and not the enlargement of the said article, for that they did not assent to the passing of the same, but with the meaning for concluding the aforesaid liberty for the merchandizes of Germany; whereupon that they must still stand as a thing which deeply concerned the interest of his majesty's subjects, and upon these terms their lordships departed from the constable at that time.

THURSDAY the 16th, the constable received audience of the king.

FRIDAY the 17th, their lordships repaired

again to the constable, to agree of the form of the preamble of the treaty, and had again speech with him concerning the former question of the merchandizes of Germany, insisting as before they had done, that they could not yield otherwise to interpret the said article with the liberty which had been mentioned; whereupon, after some further debating of the matter, the constable in the end agreed to the admittance of that liberty, for free transportation of the merchandizes of Germany into Spain, which were subject by the placard to the payment of the impost of thirty per hundred; but he desired that their lordships would content themselves with the promise thereof, under his own hand, without altering any thing in the words of the treaty; for that having sent the treaty into Spain signed by their lordships, it might be reckoned a great lightness in him to yield afterward to the enlargement of the same in any thing; and he undertook that the king of Spain should ratify his said promise, which was accepted by their lordships, and a private article accordingly drawn and signed by him for the said matter, and their lordships also procured him at the same time to sign the private articles for the moderation of the proceedings of the inquisition against his majesty's subjects trading into Spain.

SUNDAY

SUNDAY the 19th, the king's majesty took his oath in the chapel before the constable, and the archdukes' commissioners, for the observation of the peace; and that day all the said ambassadors were sumptuously feasted by the king, at his own table at dinner, in the great banqueting house, and during the time of dinner, order was given for the proclaiming peace at the court-gate and through the city.

MONDAY the 20th, the constable had a private audience by the king.

TUESDAY the 21st, it was appointed that the constable should take his leave of the king, because of his majesty's desire to leave the city, to proceed in his pretended progress; but in respect that the constable fell sick, and was too unable to stir off his bed, the king's majesty was pleased to visit him at his own lodging, and there to bid him farewell; and to do the like to the count of Aremberg who was also indisposed of his gout, after performance whereof his majesty immediately departed from London.

SATURDAY the 25th, the constable and the rest of the commissioners departed from London,

London, the constable being accompanied to Gravesend by the earl of Northampton, and from thence to Dover by the lord Wotton. The earl of Aremberg and the rest of the archdukes' commissioners embarked themselves about the same time in the River.

APPENDIX. (C.)

(VOL. I. PAGE 460.)

SIR Francis Cottington, in a letter to the lord treasurer Salisbury, dated Madrid 5th February 1609, says, "The carrying away the Moors of Valentia, who were suffered to transport all their wealth with them, hath cost the king, besides what he still owes, much above 800,000 ducats, as myself have seen by the brief of the account in a comptador's house. Prada (one of the Spanish secretaries of state), tells me of much more, which I can also easily believe.

"HEREUPON, it seems, the king hath taken a resolution not to suffer any one that goes now from Andalusia, Estremadura, and the two Castiles, to carry away any kind of gold, or silver, or prohibited commodities; neither may they, by exchange or otherwise, convey their monies out of these kingdoms; which to prevent, by proclamation all men are prohibited

bited to deal with them in that nature, upon pain of extraordinary punishment.

"THE French ambassador, notwithstanding, as it seems, received of them great sums of money upon good conditions; and, for the more safe conveyance of such papers as he gave them, he dispatched his steward in post for France. This was not so secretly carried, but his steward was apprehended in Buytrago, thirteen leagues hence, and brought back prisoner to this court: his mail was taken from him and sent unto the secretary Prada. The ambassador, hereupon, wrote a very angry letter unto the council, in which, as himself tells me, he threatened, if they opened the mail, no messenger or correo should pass from hence through France, without having his letters seized. He went in person to every one of the counsellors of state, and uttered much choler. In the end, as I am informed, they gave him his mail unopened, and the steward is again on his way with it.

"By order of the council, Sylva de Torres, the president of Alcaldies, wrote a letter unto the ambassador, and sent it him with the mail; the ambassador, took the letter, and without opening it, threw it into the fire, saying unto the messenger, "Tell Sylva de Torres that this answer I give him." The ambassador doth

doth much glory herein, but is by many censured for his passionate proceedings. They are here very angry with him; and though they say little, will, I dare assure your lordship, find a trick to tame him, if he remain long among them. The sums of money he hath received, are reported to be so extraordinarily great, as I dare not report it unto your lordship; but Prada himself tells me of many hundred thousands."

In a letter to the lord treasurer, dated Madrid, the 4th of March, 1609. Sir Francis writes thus, "By my former advertisements your lordships has understood that the Morescoes of these parts were prohibited to carry away any kind of gold or silver. This was so strictly executed, as some thirty-two or thirty-three were hanged at Burgos, for being found with money and jewels. Amongst the rest, one that had in his albarda, which is like a pad to carry sacks on, four hundred ducats in doubloons. Notwithstanding all this wariness and rigour, they found, that some by bills of exchange, others in specie (artificially hidden), carried away great treasure; whereupon, they have now published, that all shall carry what money they will, conditionally, that by the way, where they shall

shall be searched, they leave the one half to the king.

"COMMISSIONERS are now sent from hence into every province, and to make sale of such houses and possessions as they have left, and were belonging to them; by which, it is thought the king shall gather a very great treasure; and doubtless, it cannot be otherwise."

IT appears that his Catholic majesty never dreamt of applying the confiscations of the Morescoes to the exigencies of state, but dissipated them with a thoughtless profusion among favourites. From a letter of Cottington's, dated Madrid, 16th of May, 1610, we learn that "the king had given unto the duke of Lerma, out of the goods of the Morescoes, 250,000 ducats; unto the duke of Uzeda, Lerma's son, 100,000; unto the Conde of Lemos, 100,000; and unto the Condessa Lemos, Lerma's daughter, 50,000; which is in all 500,000 ducats, all paid already out of the sale of the lands and goods of the Morescoes."

THE following extract of a letter from Cottington, dated Madrid, June 10th, 1610, serves

serves at once to illustrate the state of society in Spain, and the condition of the wretched Morescoes who remained, after the expulsion of their kindred, in that country.

"Of late there have very few nights passed, in which many people, of all ranks, have not been slain in the streets: whereupon it is here proclaimed, that no man may keep a slave within five leagues of this Court; as imagining that those kind of people have committed these murthers; and not unlikely, for that few did here serve themselves with other than captive Turks, and Moors; and so the multitude of them were very great."

In what follows, we have an example of the vicissitudes of nations; for as we have just seen the hard fate of the Moors oppressed by the Spaniards, we shall there behold a picture not less affecting than curious, of the Spaniards, at a former period, oppressed by the Moors.

Sir John Digby, afterwards earl of Bristol, the British ambassador at the court of Spain, in a letter, dated Madrid, 22d December, 1617, says "Certain inhabitants are here, now some few months since, discovered amongst

amongst the mountains, not many leagues from Salamanca, who dwell in a valley compassed by impassable hills. They are, to the number of five hundred persons, and doubtless have dwelt there (they I mean and their predecessors) ever since the conquest of Spain by the Moors, from whom it seems they fled (some few families of them); and hard it is to understand how they got down into that valley. They have no other grain but rye, nor other flesh than goats. Fish they have in brooks and lakes; and the valley is of a good compass, which was hitherto imagined to be only mountain inaccessible.

"Some sixty years past, were likewise discovered in the Pyrenean hills, divers villages, not far from La Pena de Francia, and in the same nature as these are, who are extreme poor miserable souls, and know neither God, nor any religion."

APPENDIX. (D.)

(VOL. II. PAGE 306.)

WE learn from a letter of Sir Francis Cottington's, dated Madrid, January 5th, 1610, that the Spanish parliament had been just dissolved, after having been continued for the space of four years. "Many new laws, Sir Francis adds, are published, though not yet printed; amongst which it is provided, that no man, on great penalty, may lend his coach, nor any go in coaches of their own without four horses in it, two coachmen, and a gen-man of the horse following on horseback."

The Duke of Lerma appears to have carried his love of pomp or parade to lengths, that to the present age must appear to be ridiculous, which, to his cotemporaries, appeared to be excessive, and which, in his particular circumstances, were certainly imprudent.

"In a late letter," says Sir John Digby (writing to the British secretary of state from Madrid, 9th of June, 1617), I advertised you of 70 long carts sent from hence with stuff, by the Duke of Lerma, unto Lerma; touching which, I must now thus far advertise your honour, that those carts going all together out of town, with a multitude of officers and servants, in great bravery, with trumpets sounding before them, passed by the Palace gate, that not being the direct way, where the king, hearing the trumpets, inquired the cause of their sounding; and being thereof informed, called for the duke, and gave him a very sharp reprehension, who laid the fault upon his officers, and forthwith turned many out of his service, who had great and gainful places. But this, I understood, gives the king so little satisfaction, as he now absolutely refuseth to go to Lerma, where the duke had made extraordinary preparation for his entertainment. This is so much noted and spoke of in this court, as I have thought it worthy the advertising unto your honour; and peradventure, it may be the beginning of a greater inconvenience to the duke. His plate alone, sent in these carts, besides money, jewels, and stuff, weighed above eight

eight hundred thousand ducats, as I am credibly informed by those who had the charge of it, and have seen it in their books by good account."

It appears from a letter of Sir John Digby's, dated Madrid, 28th January, 1619, that the duke of Lerma's annual income amounted to at least six hundred thousand ducats.

We may form some idea of the power and consequence of this minister, and of the pomp and state in which he lived, from the following extract from a letter of Sir Francis Cottington's to the lord treasurer Salisbury, dated Madrid, 19th August, 1610. "I dare assure your lordship, that he (the secretary Arostequi) and I, before winter pass, may peradventure wait many an hour together, at the duke of Lerma's door, and go back again without getting in. Many times have I seen the constable do this, as Sir Charles Cornwallis can well witness. I once saw the Florentine ambassador, being a bishop, thrust out of an outer chamber of the duke's. Sir Charles had more free entrance than any man in his time, of what degree soever; and yet sometimes was fain

to stay. Your lordship knows well, that, but by the way of this duke, here is nothing to be done; and therefore, I have written thus largely of his unsufferable greatness."

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CORRIGENDA.

Vol. II. Page 377, line 19, *for* "pursuit," *read* "reach."
Page 395, line 12, *for* "December," *read* "November."
Page 408, line 5 from the bottom, *for* "pomiendoles," *read* "poniendo les."
Page 409, line 6, *for* "turn," *read* "return."
Page 415, line 2, *for* "1503," *read* "1598."
Page 436, line 3, *for* "compulsion," *read* "expulsion."

THE END.

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